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**EGYPT: Opposition Press Coverage**

**28 January - March 1980**

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10 April 1980

## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

No. 2100

## EGYPT: OPPOSITION PRESS COVERAGE

28 January - March 1980

AL-AHRAR, Weekly Publication of Socialist Liberals Party

AL-SHA'B, Weekly Publication of Socialist Workers Party

AL-DA'WAH, Monthly Publication of the Muslim Brotherhood

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EDITORIAL WONDERS IF CARTER WILL CHANGE CALM DIPLOMACY TOWARD SOVIETS

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 28 Jan 80 p 1

[Editorial by Mustafa Kamil Murad: "Carter and Chamberlain"]

[Text] The year 1980 has begun with a violent political and economic start. Each of the two superpowers is lying in wait for the other and is carrying out its political, economic and military strategy in all hot parts of the world, the first being the Middle East and its numerous problems and the second being Central Asia where the problem of Afghanistan and its consequences have erupted.

The United States is pursuing its diplomatic course within the framework of the United Nations and its resolutions and is using peaceful means to settle the Iranian problem which has persisted for a long time and to deal with the emerging problem in Afghanistan which has been gobbled up by Russia.

Carter is implementing the policy of U.S. military non-intervention to fight the communist tide in all parts of the world. He is thus responding to the U.S. public opinion which, since the Vietnam defeat, has demanded that the U.S. forces not be involved in hot wars and that diplomatic means be followed to stem the communist tide.

Russia is perfectly aware of the U.S. public opinion and of Carter's peaceful policy which reflects the opinion of the U.S. people. Russia is, meanwhile, implementing the policy of rapid military domination and of making use of opportunities by creating communist coups and then making the new communist governments call on Russia for help. Under the pretext of the principle of helping the communist countries against world imperialism, Russia extends its military domination in few days.

The international economic situation is complex, intricate and turbulent. The western world is suffering from inflation and high prices coupled with a recession, rising unemployment rates and higher deficits in the balances of payments and budgets of the western governments (excluding the Federal Republic of Germany). All these are inflationary factors that cause prices to rise and that fuel inflation. All this is reflected on the prices of

capital commodities (machinery and equipment), foodstuffs and other production requirements exported by the western countries to the developing countries, i.e. the poor countries. The high prices of these exports escalate the deficit in the developing countries' balances of payments and in the budgets of their governments causing, consequently, higher inflation rates, higher prices, faltering development plans and lowered standards of living in these countries. The automatic result of all of this is that the Soviet Union is extremely happy with the turbulent economic conditions in the western world and with the intensifying poverty in the developing countries, all of which enhance local revolutions and military coups which are considered a factor helping communist mobilization in these countries. The rising oil prices have made matters worse and have escalated the economic troubles in both the western world and in the developing countries that do not export oil.

The rabid and unprecedented gold-buying fever has caused gold prices to multiply in a few months, considering that the billions of dollars owned by the oil exporting countries have rushed to purchase gold as a result of the political and economic troubles in the sensitive parts of the world and out of fear of deterioration of the value of the dollar and of the hard currencies.

The Arab world is divided and has no clear-cut policy, except for Egypt.

Iran is still threatening to try and execute the hostages, as it is threatening the Arab countries and denouncing their systems of government. Meanwhile, the Arab countries are floundering in their statements. They neither want to follow Egypt's clear line and wise policy for settling the Palestinian issue nor do they want to answer Iran's accusations, threats and insults. The United States proceeds in its diplomatic ways, freezing Iran's assets and embargoing wheat to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union is preparing to strike its second blow which will undoubtedly be in Iran and will follow the same tactic and same method that the Soviets have used in Afghanistan--namely, create an armed coup in Iran or in one of its provinces and then let Soviet troops flow in at the invitation of the new communist government. The Soviet Union will thus overlook the world's most important oil sources in the Gulf countries.

Russia and some of the Arab countries alined with it, such as Syria, Iraq and Libya, finance the communist organizations and parties in the rest of the Arab world so that they may be ready to act when the Russian plan is complete. The communist tide in the area is tightening the siege around the Arab countries that do not believe in the communist principles:

1. The Libyan support west of the Egyptian borders.
2. The Ethiopian support south of Sudan.
3. The Southern Yemen support south of Saudi Arabia and North Yemen and west of Muscat and Oman.



#### 4. The Afghani support right behind Iran.

It is a situation that bodes extreme danger and an explosion that may occur at any time and cause the entire area to flare up in local wars and domestic coups, thus allowing the Soviet Union to implement its fast-paced plans.

The United States is moving its fleets in the Indian Ocean and in the Gulf as part of a complete military plan. However, it is still pursuing its calm diplomatic course to settle the Iranian problem and to face the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan which may be followed at any time by the invasion of Iran.

The self-rule negotiations between Egypt and Israel are still faltering and the United States is still taking a negative stance toward this stumbling situation when it behooves her to exert further pressure on Israel to complete the Palestinian self-rule negotiations, thus bolstering Egypt's position and encouraging a number of Arab countries that are currently taking a negative stance, especially Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states and Jordan, to join Egypt.

The United States is also taking a negative stance insofar as Israel's intransigence on southern Lebanon is concerned.

It is a serious and quickly developing situation. Some European politicians and businessmen liken President Carter's stance vis-a-vis the Soviet Union to Chamberlain's position toward Hitler before World War II when Germany swallowed Austria and Czechoslovakia and the situation was deteriorating while Chamberlain was still trying to stop that deterioration with diplomatic means. But finally, England and its allies were forced to wage a world war to save the situation. We wonder: Will the same story be repeated, with the difference in time and characters and in the type of problems? Or will Carter replace his calm approach with the approach of confrontation to the brink of war, as Kennedy did in the Cuban missile crisis and as Nixon did in the crisis over the dispatch of Soviet forces to Egypt when he declared nuclear mobilization, thus forcing the Soviets to refrain from sending their troops--this happened at the request of Egypt after the Deversoir bulge when Egypt asked the United States and the Soviet Union to send troops to separate the two fighting forces.

This is what the future will reveal.

Will Carter continue to play the role of Chamberlain and then be faced with a world war or will he change to the approach of confrontation and of the brink of war?

Tomorrow is imminent for those awaiting it.

8494

CSO: 4802

LIBERAL PARTY ANSWERS GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON 1980 PLAN

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 28 Jan 80 p 5

[Article: "Reply to 1980 Government Statement"]

[Text] The Socialist Liberal Party, having heard the government statement to the People's Assembly on the 1980 government program and having presented this statement to the party Secretariat, its Permanent Council and its specialized committees which have discussed the statement in detail, replies as follows:

The party believes that Egypt is passing through a delicate phase, both externally and internally, and that this requires the solidarity of all efforts by both the ruling party and the opposition parties to enhance the march of democracy and to strengthen partisan politics in Egypt so that the country may proceed in its procession, flying the banners of freedom and underlining its determination to proceed on the path of democratic socialism, national unity and social peace. This is required so that the country may be able to overcome this difficult phase of laying the foundations of peace in the Middle East area, of continuing implementation of the Camp David accords for solving the Palestinian Arab problem in a comprehensive and just manner that leads to withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the territories occupied after the 1967 aggression and to establish the Palestinian people's self-rule in affirmation of their absolute right to determine their future in accordance with the UN resolutions issued in this regard. This solidarity is also required to overcome the difficult stage of correcting the country's economic course and of strengthening the country's economy so as to enhance production, raise the citizens' standard of living and distribute wealth and income in a fair manner that preserves the Egyptian citizen's dignity and realizes for him a human life befitting his deep-rooted civilization and compatible with his long struggle and his enormous sacrifices to preserve the Palestinian people's rights and to establish their state.

Proceeding from this patriotic basis, the Socialist Liberal Party makes its reply to the government statement in light of the Liberals program which has emanated from the application of the principles of the July and

May revolutions and from the political group that has lived with both these revolutions, has engaged in continuous political action throughout 28 years and has emerged with the Liberals program which the party founders declared in October 1975. These founders declared their party in November 1976 and have waged two election campaigns in 1976 and 1979 on the basis of the party program. They are still standing fast in the Egyptian political arena and are reflecting the other national opinion with utter freedom, both in their conferences and committees and on the pages of AL-AHRAR, organ of the party, out of their belief in the multiplicity of parties and multiplicity of opinions within the framework of the democratic socialism whose principles were declared by the leader President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat on the morrow of the May 1971 revolution.

The Socialist Liberal Party has supported the peace treaty and has approved it openly, provided that linkage is made in its implementation between the normalization of relations between Egypt and Israel on the one hand and realization of self-rule for the Palestinian people on the other hand so that they may determine their future. The Egyptian government responded to this opinion at the time and promised to link the normalization with self-rule so that the problem may be solved comprehensively in every sense of the word.

There is no doubt that implementation of the peace treaty will be faced by some difficulties, obstacles and challenges. In this regard, the party stresses the need for a gradual normalization of the relations in view of the bitter material and psychological traces that the four wars have left in the souls of many citizens.

Therefore, the programming of this normalization and its linkage with the self-rule must be performed with utter care so that the problem may be solved in a comprehensive manner and so that the Arab countries concerned with the problem, led by Jordan and Syria, may be attracted to join the treaty after they become aware from implementation that Egypt is fully eager for a comprehensive solution and that a separate or partial solution has never occurred to its mind.

The Socialist Liberal Party believes that the government is proceeding on the right path and that it is sparing no effort to achieve a comprehensive solution for the entire problem. While following up implementation of the treaty, the party will keep the government informed of all its opinions--both supporting and opposing opinions--on the realization of the desired goals of the peace treaty.

There is no doubt that the Socialist Liberal Party believes that the government will face in 1980 difficult situations in the Arab sphere, the nonalignment sphere and in the sphere of the conflict between the two super-powers in view of the turbulence in international relations in recent months which started with the Iranian revolution, the shah's departure, the seizure of power in Iran by Ayatollah Khomeyni and his Islamic party and

the subsequent arrest of the U.S. hostages and the declared intention to try them, all of which was followed by President Carter's declaration of the freezing of Iranian assets and of the imposition of some kind of economic sanctions against Iran by way of the United Nations and the Security Council.

Then came the events in Afghanistan and the open Soviet military intervention to support the new government, as the Soviets claim.

There have also been the all price increases in the few past months and the turmoil in commodity prices and in the balances of payments that these increases have caused. There has also been the rapid rise in gold prices and the expected fluctuation in the value of many free currencies, led by the dollar, as a result of these events.

Add to this the gap that has developed among the nonaligned countries of the third world, the endeavor of the Soviet Union and of its bloc to polarize some nonaligned countries and the impact of all of this on the Arab, African, Asian and American world.

While supporting the steps taken by the government to deal with these successive events and with the turbulent international relations, the Socialist Liberal Party stresses the following:

First, Arab World:

The party believes that Egypt's relationship with the Arab world is an organic and inseparable historical and religious relationship, that Egypt cannot live without the Arab world and that the Arab world cannot live without Egypt. Egypt is the heart of the Arab world and its source of pride and of cultural and religious radiation. Moreover, the Arab world is an indivisible part of the Arab lands [sic] and there is between this world and Egypt a firm and unbreakable bond and a national unity that cannot be changed or disavowed.

Therefore, the party believes in the need to continue the dialogue between Egypt and all the Arab countries through the official and unofficial channels so that this dialogue may continue to exist between Egypt and its Arab sisters in order to eliminate or obstruct malicious currents from getting between them.

The Liberal Party is fully prepared to take part in all the popular and partisan efforts seeking to explain the Egyptian viewpoint to all the Arab peoples so that all may know that what Egypt has done is for the sake of the Arabs and of Palestine before being for the sake of Egypt and that Arab unity is much stronger than the temporary trouble which has prevailed between Egypt and its sisters.

The Egyptian government must spare no effort to explain all the measures that it takes to implement the peace treaty step by step either through



government statements or in popular dialogue on the pages of the press and on radio and television so that the Arab public opinion may become aware of the sincere efforts Egypt is exerting to solve the Arab problem in a comprehensive and complete manner that preserves Arab dignity and the Palestinian homeland.

#### Second, African Unity:

The Liberal Party supports the government's eagerness to perform Egypt's effective role in bolstering African unity and in preventing any foreign influence from infiltrating to strike this unity, to divide the sons of the one continent or to incite conflicts among them. Egypt is a part of the African continent and is its northern key. It influences this continent and is influenced by it politically, economically, socially and militarily. It is necessary to support the African countries with all the known means of aid so that these countries may not be infiltrated by ideologies that divide them and create domestic revolutions in them, as has happened in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa. The situation requires that the time [sic] be observed cautiously and carefully, especially since Soviet military intervention has taken place in Afghanistan and since this intervention may extend to Pakistan or to Iran itself. The situation in the Horn of Africa poses a threat to the independence of Somalia and to Eritrea, and may even pose a threat to the fraternal Sudan.

#### Third, Nonaligned Countries:

The party believes that the government should continue its concentrated efforts to protect the bond tying the nonaligned countries from dissolving as a result of the major international currents, such as the attempt made at the Cuba conference. The nonaligned bloc includes most of the developing countries that liberated themselves from colonialism recently. The major powers are trying to polarize these countries and to control them economically. This major [bloc of] neutral solidarity which represents one half the world's population and which includes all the liberated peoples represents a weighty international balance in the conflict between the two superpowers.

It is in Egypt's direct interest to bolster this big entity and to play its effective role in all spheres so that the nonaligned countries may perform their major role in supporting peace.

#### Fourth, Two Superpowers:

The party believes that President Muḥammad Anwar al-Sadat's policy after the correction revolution has fully succeeded in normalizing the relations with the United States and this has had a most favorable impact on Egypt economically and politically, especially in connection with the Palestinian-Israeli problem and with the invasion of some Arab and African countries by radical currents. Thanks to this wise policy, Egypt has benefited economically, militarily and internationally.

The Liberal Party, while supporting the improvement of relations with the United States to the furthest extent possible and without alinement, draws the attention to the need to establish balanced and normal relations with the Soviet Union, considering that it is one of the two superpowers which has its special strategy in all sensitive parts of the world.

While it condemns and rejects the step taken by the Soviet Union for military intervention in the affairs of a fraternal Islamic state (Afghanistan), the Liberal Party believes that the Egyptian government should deal with this danger with objective and calm means and should always keep the door toward the Soviet Union open officially and unofficially so as to preserve Egypt's interests and world peace.

Though the party believes that the military step taken by the Soviet Union against Afghanistan is the first nail driven into the coffin of the policy of detente between the Soviet Union and the United States whose wise policy in dealing with the Iranian problem and in approaching the Afghani problem is supported by the party;

Though the party believes that the international situation is serious and explosive and may flare up at any moment despite the strong eagerness displayed by the United States and by the EEC countries to deal with this explosive situation in a calm and organized diplomatic way;

And though the party agrees with the government's wise foreign policy, this party demands a more extensive dialogue between the government party (Democratic National Party) and the opposition parties so that all matters may become clear and so that the features of the Egyptian policy may become obvious to the public opinion in Egypt and in the outside world.

#### Growth and Inflation Rates

The Socialist Liberal Party has noticed that the government statement has been devoid of any reference to the growth rate in the means of payment (issued banknotes plus private sector's current savings in banks) in 1980 as a result of implementation of the plan, compared to the growth rate of these means in 1979.

It is worth noting that these rates are considered the real criteria for the inflation rates in the year of the plan--inflation rates that subsequently affect the prices of commodities and services, i.e. the individual's standard of living.

The matter requires that the government make an accurate statement on the growth rates of the means of payment compared to the national income growth rates because any imbalance between the two provides a precise indicator of the commodity and service prices at the national level.

The government statement should have contained this comparison on whose basis the rate of wage increases can be calculated because the wages have to rise to keep up with the inflation rates.

Without this comparison it is impossible for the Assembly to know how adequate is the cost of living allowance announced by the government (265 million pounds) to face the rising prices.

The Liberal Party had asked the government for this data before the government presented its program to the Assembly. We still insist that this data be made available.

Moreover, the government statement has been devoid of any reference to a monetary reform compatible with the open-door economic policy and considered one of this policy's mainstays. Without issuing the legislations for building a complete economic structure, the open-door policy will not be able to bear fruit.

The party has noticed that the minister of finance plans to present a complete batch of financial laws--such as a customs law, a tax law, a purchase tax law and so forth. This is something that the party approves and supports. However, such a financial policy cannot bear fruit without a monetary and economic policy complementing it. For example, the Ministry of Foreign Trade should submit a number of monetary, economic and trade laws complementing the financial laws referred to by the minister of finance in his financial statement on the state budget and the Ministry of Economy and Economic Cooperation should present the following laws: A currency law, a law for the commercial currency market, an import and export law and amendments on law no 43 of 1974.

The same applies to the Ministry of Supply and Internal Trade which should have presented a complete batch of new and integrated internal trade laws to complement the currency, economic, trade and financial laws, such as laws on the trade register, chambers of commerce, commercial representation, revenue stamps and measurements.

Last, but not least, there is law No 26 of 1954 concerning the joint-stock companies. The Liberal Party has been urging for a long time the amendment of this law to make it compatible with the open-door policy so that the Egyptian companies may acquire the same privileges and facilities given to the foreign and joint firms in accordance with law No 43 of 1974.

Therefore, the Socialist Liberal Party believes that it cannot be said that the open-door policy is capable of achieving all its goals without the integrated batch of economic, monetary, commercial and financial laws to which we have referred.

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VIOLATIONS BY HOUSING COOPERATIVES UNDER INVESTIGATION

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 4 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Minister of Housing Admits: I am Helpless in Face of Association's Deviations; Comprehensive Review of Association for Purpose of Liquidation"]

[Text] Dr Mustafa al-Hifnawi, the minister of housing, has admitted that he is helpless in the face of the deviations in the cooperative housing associations. In his answer to deputy 'Atiyah Abu-Sari' at the People's Assembly, the minister has declared that a number of these associations have committed serious financial violations and that the officials in charge of these associations have been under investigation. He also said that it has been decided to dissolve a number of the executive councils of these associations.

The minister has also declared that a comprehensive review is currently in progress for all the cooperative housing associations in preparation for liquidating them, maintaining only those that follow sound methods in their work.

AL-AHRAR has learned that the Ministry of Housing is preparing a bill to amend the current cooperative housing associations law to insure that serious controls are drawn up for these associations and for the loans given to them to prevent tampering through rental of furnished housing and through concealed rental.

In his written reply to a question submitted by deputy 'Atiyah Abu-Sari', from the National Party, the minister said that exercise by the ministry and by the Public Cooperatives Authority of their control powers has revealed the presence of various violations in the executive councils of the cooperative associations.

The ministry's and authority's exercise of these powers has also revealed the presence of some violations that sink to the level of felonious crimes. The authority has decided to refer these violations to the public prosecution.



Dr al-Hifnawi added that the socialist public prosecutor has been notified of the flagrant deviations and that during the past 2 years, six cooperative associations have been referred to the administrative prosecution and three to the public prosecution. He also said that nine associations are currently under investigation and that measures are in progress to drop the membership of the members of the executive councils of two of these associations.

AL-AHRAR has learned that the deviations have included inflation of the value of lands belonging to members of the associations. The associations proven to have committed violations include al-'Ahd al-Jadid [New Era] Association in al-Haram, al-Mahabbah [Love] Association in al-Jizah, Nadi al-Rihlat [Travel Club] in Sudan Street, the Signal Engineering Association and al-Risalah [Message] Association.

8494

CSO: 4802

GOVERNMENT SEIZURE OF AWQAF PROPERTIES QUESTIONED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 4 Feb 80 pp 1, 5

[Article: "Shaykh Abu-Isma'il Questions Dr Mustafa Khalil; Government Has Seized 15 Million Pounds Left by Owners for Charities and Charitable Acts; Government Accused of Seizing Religious Trusts and of Deviating From Teachings of Islamic Shari'a"]

[Text] In its current session, the People's Assembly will discuss a query submitted by Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il, an independent deputy, to Dr Mustafa Khalil, the prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, dealing with the encroachment on the awqaf [religious trust] lands in accordance with void laws violating God's law and the Sunna of His prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, and the confiscation of these lands unrightfully and with no support of the Shari'a or of the law.

Shaykh Abu-Isma'il has cited several specific incidents whose continuation will lead to the loss of the religious trusts of the Muslims and to continued tampering with the sanctities and to violation of the constitution.

The query says that the ministries of health, agriculture, education, interior, local government and social affairs have seized awqaf lands through the Public Agrarian Reform Authority and through local councils. This has led to reducing the budget of the Ministry of Awqaf to the extent whereby this ministry is no longer capable of performing its message in God's houses.

Moreover, these ministries have not paid the Ministry of Awqaf the sums they owe it--sums amounting to 15 million pounds--thus violating the laws, the constitution and God's law.

Abu-Isma'il added: These ministries have seized religious trust lands designated for public and private charities. They have done this in accordance with void and baseless laws. They have seized the lands even though they yielded millions of pounds and represented a fixed national wealth which was used for spending on mosques, students, needy people, sick people and others. Moreover, this measure [of seizing the lands] will do

neither the ministries nor the positional laws they use as a pretext any good because laws that clash with God's book and with His prophet's Sunna are laws that conflict with the constitution and tamper with the sanctities.

Shaykh Abu-Isma'il then wondered about the laws issued in violation of God's Shari'a, including the law No 152 of 1957 on the exchange of religious trust lands and law No 44 of 1962.

Concluding his query, Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il said that the situation persists and that he has several examples, supported by facts and figures, which he will mention when the query is discussed.

A number of ministries have seized awqaf lands designated for public and private charities in accordance with void and baseless laws. The lands used to yield millions of pounds and represented a fixed national wealth which was used for spending on mosques, students, needy and sick people and others.

Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il, an independent deputy in the People's Assembly, has said in the query he presented to Dr Mustafa Khalil, the prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, on the encroachments of these ministries--encroachments testified to by the story of awqaf distributed to the People's Assembly members by Dr 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Nimr, the minister of awqaf, about the Muslim trusts left for mosques and al-Azhar--Abu-Isma'il has said that these ministries will not be helped by the approved positional laws because laws conflicting with God's book and with the Sunna of His prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, are void, are in conflict with the constitution and tamper with the sanctities.

Shaykh Abu-Isma'il added that he has prepared a bill which he will submit to the Assembly on the day the query will be examined and discussed so as to rescue the awqaf of the Muslims from the injustice and usurpation they have been exposed to and to rescue the mosques and the religious institutes from the deplorable state in which they are left.

#### The Beginning

The beginning, as the story of awqaf and the questioner say, lies in the fact that there were in Egypt vast agricultural and real estate property left as religious trusts for mosques, for needy people and for students. The religious trust deeds at the Ministry of Awqaf amounted to more than 30,000 deeds which the ministry recorded on film, classified and registered so that they may be preserved.

The ministry used to take care of the agricultural and real estate trusts, collect their revenues and spend from the revenues on the circles for which the trusts were left and set up Islamic and national establishments to take part in society's renaissance. For example, the ministry used to own and manage nine hospitals and medical care clinics, in addition to two schools, the Industrial Institute in Heliopolis and al-Zakah Social Welfare Establishment.

## Usurpation

The Ministry of Health has usurped these hospitals without paying anything in return. The same happened to the schools which have been usurped by the Ministry of Education, also for nothing in return. Al-Zakah Establishment in al-Marj was nationalized and attached to the Ministry of Social Affairs in accordance with the void law No 167 of 1963 amended by law No 50 of 1968. The establishment was nationalized along with the lands attached to it and amounting to 114,000 feddans. The value of a [square] meter of land was estimated at 40 piasters at the time. This is in addition to the value of the establishment's buildings, which were estimated by the engineering sections at 264,232 pounds, and to the construction land which was valued at 192,340 pounds only. The total value thus amounted to 456,472 pounds and the Ministry of Awqaf has gotten nothing in return for this religious trust establishment or for the lands surrounding it.

## Budget Reduced

The ministry used to own and manage 229,786 feddans for public and private charities, not to mention 92,065 feddan in the form of joint religious trusts for public, private and local charities. The revenues from these agricultural trusts and from the trusts in the form of buildings and real estate formed the income of the Ministry of Awqaf whose 1958-59 budget--i.e. before the trusts were turned over to the Agrarian Reform--amounted to 7,285,000 pounds which dropped to 4.1 million pounds in the 1971-72 budget as a result of the takeover by the reform. This means there was a drop of more than 3 million pounds in the budget.

In his well-known story, Dr al-Nimr has said that despite the ministry's dire need to have its budget increased--the ministry has asked for 70 million pounds at least--the ministry has not gotten so far one tenth what it asked for at a time when the public opinion is asking it to perform in its days of poverty and barrenness what it used to perform when it was rich and wealthy. But the public opinion does not know the truth.

## And the Truth!!

The truth is that many laws have been issued to destroy the religious trust properties and to stop their development and growth. One law after another have been issued since 1957 so that the Ministry of Awqaf may hand over all the agricultural land it owns and manages to the Agrarian Reform [Authority] and all the real estates to the Ministry of Local Government to manage them.

Law No 125 of 1957 stipulated that the cost of the lands expropriated by the Agrarian Reform be paid over a period of 30 years and that the reform pay the value of the bonds it consumes to the economic establishment on the basis that the price of the feddan is (comparative?) to the tax and may be equal to one half or more, plus a revenue fee of three percent [sic].



This action led to a vast drop, amounting to more than 58 percent, in the income of the Ministry of Awqaf from land revenues. The average net profit before the change was 20 pounds per feddan which dropped after the takeover by the reform to 8,400 pounds or three percent for public charity and 11,200 pounds or four percent for private charity for which the law was issued in 1962 [sic]. The value of the bonds consumed was paid to the economic establishment which, for a long time, paid the ministry nothing [as published].

#### Open Lands and Local Government

As for the real estate, the open lands and the cultivable lands within city limits, they were taken by the Local Government Administration to be run by the local councils. As a result, some of these councils have built residential buildings on some of the Awqaf lands without paying their price to the ministry, as in the case of the building in Shibin al-Kawm, for example. The councils have also given parts of the lands to the ministries, government agencies and public authorities to build installations on these lands without paying their price, such as the ministries of health, interior and education. The councils have also leased some of the open lands and cultivable lands within city limits to the ministries, agencies and authorities without concluding with them lease contracts binding them to a definite rent in return for benefiting from these lands, all of which is in violation of the provisions of law No 44 of 1962.

#### Question!!

An important question must be asked here: Will the concerned Muslims exert efforts to do their mosques, God's houses in which they seek closeness to God, justice? Nearly 700 mosques have collapsed and completely stopped holding prayer and worship services. So far, the ministry has no indication that one half of one percent of these mosques will be built annually. All know that there are 190 mosques that are completely collapsed.

Another fact is worth mentioning here. In 1973, the Ministry of Awqaf received from the Agrarian Reform a small part of its lands, namely 20,000 feddans out of a total of 137,000 feddans left as religious trusts for public and private charities and 74,000 feddans in local and joint trusts which the ministry manages along with 92,000 other feddans. The Agrarian Reform still retains 117,000 feddans of trust lands for public and private charities which it has not yet restored to the ministry, as well as 17,000 feddans of local and joint trusts.

Another fact is that the part of the cultivable lands and real estate which the ministry has regained still carries overdue tax payments which have been estimated at millions of pounds and which the ministry has to pay.

A yet another fact is that in the 1978 budget, the total revenues delivered to the ministry from the income of the trusts it had regained amounted to 3.83 million pounds. Of this sum, the ministry had to pay inevitable

expenses amounting to 2,159,000 pounds which left the ministry with a little over one million pounds from which to spend on building and repairing mosques, propagating the call inside and outside these mosques, Koran memorization efforts, supplying mosques with libraries, advancing aid to local mosques and to the poor and other activities.

Finally, the Law

We wonder what are the laws that have been issued in violation of the Shari's of God, may He be praised? Here we say:

Insofar as cultivable lands are concerned, law No 152 of 1957 was issued to regulate the exchange of the cultivable lands left in trust for charitable circles. The law stipulated that the lands be replaced within a maximum period of 3 years and in installments, provided that the Public Agrarian Reform Authority supply those with the right to oversee the trusts bonds equal in value to the cultivable lands and the fixed installations and provided that the value of consumed bonds be paid to the economic establishment and that the interest of the bonds, valued at 300 [presumably meaning three] percent annually, be paid to those with the right to oversee the trusts.

Then law No 44 of 1962 was issued and stipulated that the cultivable lands located outside city borders and left in trust for private charitable circles be exchanged with the Public Agrarian Reform Authority.

Then law No 42 of 1973 was issued, stipulating that the Ministry of Awqaf be given back [presumably by the Agrarian Reform] the cultivable lands it had not distributed for ownership and left in trust for public and private charities--lands previously exchanged.

Insofar as open real estates, open lands and cultivable lands within city borders, law No 44 of 1962 was issued stipulating that the local councils be given the investment buildings, the open lands and the cultivable lands to manage and dispose of them and to use the exchange money.

It is obvious from the aforementioned that the Agrarian Reform owes the Ministry of Awqaf the sum of 8,798,000 pounds for 55,517 feddans of public and private charity properties and 17,439 feddans of local and joint properties and that the local government agencies owe the Ministry of Awqaf 70,249,000 pounds of which the ministry has not received any part yet.

Finally

The spirit [of greed] has prevailed and continues to prevail insofar as the religious trust properties are concerned.

Generally, the situation is still prevalent and the courageous questioner, Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il, has at his disposal numerous examples, supported by facts and figures, which he will mention during discussion of the query. Let us wait for the result, perhaps the government--and we hope it will--will wake up and will not sink in the "sea of honey."

CAUSES, MEANS OF CONTROLLING INFLATION DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 4 Feb 80 p 3

[Article by Layla 'Abd-al-Salam, Ihsan 'Abd-al-Maqsud and Muhammad al-Minyawi: "Prices Between Minister's Statements and Market Reality; Prices of Goods not Raised Officially But Took a Leap Cordially; Consumer Is Victim Always"]

[Text] The commercial market has experienced recently escalating price increases that have included most goods and services. The increase in the prices of some commodities has reached 50 percent and this cannot be called moving the prices, as the government has declared.

Moreover, the increase has gone beyond the basbusah pastry, despite the statements by Minister of Supply Nasif Tahun that "the recent increase in pastry prices will affect no commodity other than the basbusah whose price will rise by 1.5 piasters or 2 piasters only."

A reporter of AL-AHRAR has toured the commercial market to find out the truth of the recent price increase and whether it is a mere moving of the prices, as the government has said.

It has become evident from the market tour that the recent increase cannot be called a moving of prices. It is a leap in prices, despite the statements by Dr Ahmad 'Abd-al-Ghaffar, the undersecretary of supply for the ministerial bureau's affairs, who held a press conference in which he said:

There is no increase in prices. Price security is stable and there is strict and firm control to prevent prices from rising!

Consumers

But what do the consumers say?

Dr 'Abd-al-Halim Nur-al-Din, an assistant professor at the Cairo University Archeology College, earns a monthly income of 90 pounds for 25 hours of lectures, which is the highest teaching average.

He pays a monthly housing rent of 20 pounds and car expenses of 30 pounds. Even though the state has given him a cost of living allowance of 6 pounds, the increase in consumption has amounted to 20 pounds.

He says that he has been surprised by the increase in the prices of benzine, oils and lubricants which has raised the burden of his family budget by 7 pounds, in addition to 8 more pounds in the costs of vegetables and fruits. He has been compelled to reduce the number of meat meals to four meals weekly. He does not smoke.

Dr Nur-al-Din has added: The price of over-the-counter drugs has increased 10 percent. Moreover, craftsmen, such as laundry men and others, have raised their rates by 25 percent and even the maid has asked for a raise compatible with the price increase.

#### Meats and Carbonated Waters

Rawiyah 'Atiyah, a member of al-Jizah Governorate Popular Council and chairman of the Association of Fighters and Martyrs Families, gets a monthly income of about 100 pounds.

Before the moving of prices, she used to spend 70 pounds annually [presumably meaning monthly]. From the beginning to the end of last month, she spent more than 100 pounds on food.

She says: The prices of all goods have risen. Meat prices have risen by 20 percent and the cost of a kilogram of meat is now 260 piasters instead of 2 pounds. Even the prices of cheese and olives have risen by 20 percent. The prices of fruits and vegetables have also risen. Imagine that the cost of a kilogram of peas is 30 piasters!

Life for a housewife has become unbearable and extremely difficult. There is no surplus for anything and there are no savings.

She added: Craftsmen have also raised their rates. The tailor, the laundry man, and even the doctor, have raised their rates on the pretext of the price increases. Moreover, the ticket for entering public hospitals has risen from 3 piasters to 10 piasters and the patient who used to get his medicine free of charge in the past can get no more than one quarter the medicine.

Carbonated water bottles have disappeared from homes and these drinks can no longer be served to guests because of their high prices. If five or six guests visit a family, they can cost it no less than 150 piasters in such drinks.

She added: Where is the ordinary rice that costs 6 piasters per kilogram? It has disappeared completely and the price has risen to 14 piasters per kilogram. The price of vitamins, cough medicines and tooth paste have risen 10 percent. The fee charged by the hairdresser has also risen 50 piasters.



Concluding, Rawiyah 'Atiyah said: "I have stopped eating meat three times a week and have to be content with one meat meal weekly."

### Full Bellies

Muhammad Khalil Ibrahim is a messenger in a government office and the father of five children. His salary does not exceed 35 pounds, including his tips [bakhshish], his resourcefulness and all else.

He says: "My children are students in the various stages of education. The apartment rent is 7 pounds and 3 pounds go for water and electricity. The rest, 10 pounds, is to fill the bellies of seven family members daily. I cannot do that, even if I buy bread and salt only. I used to buy rice for 6 piasters per kilogram and the price has now risen to 14 piasters. It is unreasonable for the price to rise one and a half times. I don't want to eat basbusah. No, I only want to eat bread and salt. Even the prices of broad beans and crushed lentils—the food of the poor—have risen."

Muhammad 'Abd-al-Hamid Junaynah, the owner of (Tisibas) Shops, protests, saying: The prices have to rise. It is unreasonable that we should sell at a loss, especially since we rely on imported goods whose prices have risen 200 percent (such as various kinds of nuts and cooking fats). Moreover, there is an international wave of price increases. This is in addition to the increase in flour prices.

### Statements!

What does Nasif Tahun, the minister of supply, say?

In a statement published in the papers, the minister has said that the increase in the prices of benzine and diesel fuel has no impact on the prices of some goods or on operational costs and no real impact on transportation costs.

The minister has asserted that the prices of fruits, vegetables and food-stuffs have not increased and that the prices of some of these commodities have dropped below last year's level. He has denied the presence of any justification to exploit the citizens under the pretext of moving [the prices].

### Control Is Nonexistent

The minister also declared that agreement has been reached with the provincial directors of supply and security to adopt the measures necessary to prevent an increase in the prices of goods and services, stressing in particular the penalties to which exploiters will be subjected.

The question is: Does the minister have the capabilities needed to watch 10,000 shops daily?

A high-ranking official of the Ministry of Supply, who requested that his name not be disclosed, has said:

What is required is to escalate the campaigns and to organize quick daily movement. The burden falls on the shoulders of the control agencies in regulating the commercial activity and in laying the foundations of security and stability in the markets.

But how can we carry out this serious task when we possess only a little of the required capabilities. For example, there is a department under the ministry's control. This department's headquarters is on 26 July Street and it has 60 inspectors responsible for keeping an eye on more than 10,000 commercial places daily.

Moreover, the state authorities concerned move very slowly and their speed is not at all compatible with the market's movement. Exploitation by those who violate the compulsory price lists that fix profits and tampering with the regular and free prices have become widespread because of the difficulty of controlling and focusing on the retail merchants while neglecting the root of these violations, namely the wholesale merchants.

Moreover, the popular control is not performing its role properly, is not carrying out its work honestly and is interfering in the interest of the tamperers.

Consequently, the state control agencies do not enjoy the freedom of applying the laws and the regulations. Moreover, branch chiefs at the Chamber of Commerce exert no efforts whatsoever and work for the benefit of a small group of merchants. They have even contributed to the presence of intruders on the commercial activity whose main qualities are greed and ignorance of the laws and regulations.

The same high-ranking official added: Due to the presence of numerous changing factors, in addition to the law of supply and demand, that are difficult to determine and that help obstruct the course of controlling prices, there is an active group of frauds, such as wholesalers and importers, who refuse to supply the retailers with bills of sale, thus giving the black market the opportunity to spread.

#### Imported Commodities

This official believes that the official raising of prices affects directly the prices of other commodities connected with those whose prices are raised and affects indirectly the costs of services and of commodity transportation. The agencies concerned have a hand in this.

If, in the opinion of some people, the public sector is not using the moving of prices as a justification, then why does the public sector raise its prices? Is this greed and exploitation or is it a general trend?

For example, after the soap crisis, we were surprised to find soap prices raised fivefold. Moreover, the poor distribution of local production to the markets and the demand for importation have created an enormous purchasing power that has opened the door for competition and has led to the rise and difference in prices.

Imported commodities are controlled by decree No 119. Despite this fact, there is exploitation because of the inefficiency of the control and bureaucratic agencies and regulations. It is very difficult for some people to imagine a raise in the price of a certain commodity, such as sugar or flour, without affecting other goods. Even if such an increase is not announced officially, the cost of producing these goods rises. So how can the merchant meet the difference if he doesn't sell at higher prices or cheat, as happened in the case of drinks and pastry after the increase in the price of sugar and as happened in the commodity transportation rates and the rates charged by laundry shops after the increase in benzine and diesel fuel prices? Moreover, the tampering with the weight of the loaf of bread is connected with flour.

Sa'id al-Barrad, the general director of the Chamber of Commerce, says that the chamber is responsible for commercial activity in terms of its being a service, organization and information circle and not an executive or a control authority. We are about to re-form the executive councils of the branches, numbering 26 specialized branches, from which emanate specialized subcommittees in charge of supervising the members of each branch, educating them and guiding them to abide by the profession's code of honor and to observe the prevalent prices.

The prices of relatively scarce commodities are raised openly. We are supposed to punish any merchant who violates the system by denying him the right to distribute the commodity for 6 months.

The chamber exerts efforts to insure the flow and availability of the commodity in the right place, at the right time, in adequate quantities and at suitable prices so that there may be no bottlenecks that result in raising prices.

Shortly, a proposal will be presented to the People's Assembly to amend the chambers of commerce law. The law is being reviewed currently by the [Chamber of Commerce] council to introduce to it the provisions that enhance the chamber's activity and effectiveness.

Sa'id al-Barrad believes that fixing the price of a commodity reduces the possibility of price tampering, as in the case of shoes when they were priced.

#### Wholesale Merchants

Maj Gen Muhyi-al-Din al-Jarawani, the director of supply intelligence, admits that set prices and continued control lead to uniting the retail

merchants and to their refraining from dealing with any wholesaler who sells them at high prices, otherwise the retailers will lose and go bankrupt. Moreover, the retailers form a force that exerts pressure on the wholesalers. The wholesaler is thus compelled to sell the retailers for deferred payment and an interest rate and the retailer resorts to selling to the consumer at higher prices. When questioned, the retailer accuses the wholesaler. The wholesaler buys without any capital from the producer. For the price control to perform its role in the right manner, the merchant must be observed at his place and the consumer must be made to feel that he is protected. We focus on the greater Cairo because it includes more than one quarter the republic's population. It is difficult to apply this [control] in the villages and hamlets because a small number of merchants monopolize the market and the merchant's awareness of the presence of anybody who is stranger to his village makes him abide by the set price temporarily and then resume his activity. Moreover, cheating and negativity among the consumers are among the biggest problems.

The director of supply intelligence believes that commerce must not be shackled by laws and regulations and that it must be left for free competition, provided that the state levy taxes on exorbitant profits and that it subsidize essential commodities and commodities in short supply.

There is no doubt that food supplies and commodities in daily use are closely connected and that any influence on the one affects the other.

Consumer is Responsible!!

Brig Gen Muhammad 'Abd-al-Qadir al-Tawanisi, the director of supply and commerce at the Cairo Security Department, says:

The consumer is the party responsible first and foremost for the rise in the price of commodities after the official raising of the prices of certain commodities.

There are numerous other reasons, including the total absence of control in the rural areas and the greed of some merchants. Moreover, the producer also has an indirect impact. The civil servant gets a cost of living allowance. But what about the poor worker and the farmer? How can they survive amidst this inflation? When the government raised the prices of some commodities as a cure for inflation, it did not occur to its mind that raising prices is a two-edged weapon which creates an inflation of a different kind.

The only solution to put a stop to the price increases lies in increased production, serious control over the sources of production and curtailed consumption to put a stop to this enormous consumption, even of luxury commodities.



He believes that some prices have risen [unjustifiably]. For example, a kilogram of sesame seed sweet meal (should not) exceed 75 piasters whereas some merchants sell it for 100 piasters. This is in addition to the prices of services and other activities. For example, a taxicab drivers demand 5 pounds for a trip to the airport whereas their meters show that the fare does not exceed 125 piasters.

8494

CSO: 4802

**LIBERALS WANT GOVERNMENT ECONOMIC POLICIES CORRECTED**

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 4 Feb 80 p 5

[Article: "Mustafa Kamil Murad Declares: Government's Economic Policy Escalates Inflation"]

[Text] Last Monday morning, members of the Liberal Party Political Bureau held a joint meeting with the party leaderships in the governorates. The meeting lasted more than 4 hours and discussed the latest developments in the domestic and external situation.

At the outset of the meeting which was headed by Mustafa Kamil Murad and attended by all the party leaderships, the members observed a minute's silence for the souls of the martyrs on the occasion of the police day.

Mustafa Kamil Murad started his address by stating that Egypt's economic situation is extremely strained. Inflation has reached 40 percent and the standard of living has dropped by 27.5 percent. The wars have had a strong effect, resulting in a deficit of nearly 3 billion pounds in the state budget. Two billion pounds have been repaid through loans from social funds.

Moreover, the state's economic policy is not sound because it is leading to higher inflation. Therefore, the Liberal Party is in disagreement with the government party. There is in Egypt currently big political vacuum that is resulting in the emergence of radical currents and that is caused by the weakness of the political parties and by the narrow sphere in which the democratic dialogue is conducted.

**Correcting Economic Course**

Mustafa Murad also said: Lift the ministers' hands from supervising and managing the public sector, set up holding companies, take advantage of the surpluses of Egyptians abroad which amount to 2.5 times the U.S. aid given to Egypt and prepare a population policy based on organizing and distributing the population over the various fields of work and on reorganizing emigration through bilateral agreements because the remittances by any Egyptian going abroad are equal to the production of nearly two feddans cultivated with cotton.

The government policy must be studied thoroughly so that the government routine may be simplified and bureaucratic suffering may be reduced.

#### Foreign Policy

The discussion then moved to the foreign policy and the Liberal Party chairman said that the events in Central Asia which have crystallized in the Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan and in the subsequent serious international reactions are among the most important reasons that make me say that the world is about to enter a third world war. The world is dominated by a turbulence unprecedented since World War II, especially since serious political events are being experienced by the Middle East and Central Asia. There are political, economic and military causes for all of this.

#### Creation of Islamic League

Hasan Mahrus, member of the Political Bureau, dealt with the party's opinion on the Islamic league, saying: Our party is the first party whose program calls for amending the constitution so that Egypt may become an Islamic Arab republic forming a part of the Muslim nation. We urge the need for speeding up the creation of the Islamic league to confront the aggressions to which the Muslims in Afghanistan and the Philippines are subjected and to strengthen the Arab ties on the basis of the most important common factor existing among the Arabs, namely the orthodox religion of Islam and its sublime principles. This means that the Islamic league will not be set up over the ruins of the Arab League or at the latter's expense.

#### Youth Activity

Dr Mamduh Salim, the party chairman in Cairo, stressed that the youths lack organized programs through which to work. We want our youths in the governorates to meet in the provincial capitals to organize the activities of the district capitals and of the villages according to a working program.

Muhammad al-Misri, the party chairman in Damietta, said that the Liberal Party has emerged from the broad popular base and has not been created by anybody. This is why it adopts fundamental issues that affect the people. What concerns the people are the conditions under which they are suffering and the poor economic situation.

Muhammad Murad al-Sibtasi said: Youths are turning in a vicious circle these days. The present parties will not fill the vacuum. We must get together with the youths to adopt their causes and to solve the complex embedded in their minds.

EGYPT

LIBERAL PARTY INVITED TO JOINT INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF LIBERAL PARTIES

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 11 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Liberal Party Invited to Join Federation of Liberal Parties"]

[Text] (Iris Shotly), the secretary general of the International Federation of Liberal Parties, has invited the Socialist Liberal Party to join the federation. The federation includes 25 liberal parties from all parts of the world and its main headquarters is in London.

Mustafa Kamil Murad, the Liberal Party chairman, held a meeting with the international federation's secretary which was attended by Ambassador Ahmad Hasan al-Faqi, Ilfat Kamil, Nafisah al-Ghamrawi and Hasan Mahrus. Mr Shotly said that the federation defends liberal rights and principles throughout the world.

He also said that the program of the Egyptian Socialist Liberal Party is compatible with the programs of the other liberal parties in all parts of the world.

The federation was founded in the city of Oxford in 1947. Its present headquarters is in London and its member states include: Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Austria, Sweden, the Netherlands, Israel, Canada, Hong Kong and Ceylon.

The federation has invited the Socialist Liberal Party to attend the liberal parties conference which will be held in Berlin next September. The slogan of liberalism is summed up in: "Constant struggle for the liberal concepts and values everywhere."

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JOURNALISTS COUNCIL DISCUSSES LAW OF SHAME WITH ASSEMBLY SPEAKER

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 11 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Journalists Union Discusses Issue of Journalists Abroad and Law of Shame With People's Assembly Speaker"]

[Text] The Journalists Union Council has conveyed to Dr Sufi Abu-Talib, the People's Assembly speaker, the union's observations on the method in which the issue of the Egyptian journalists working abroad has been discussed.

Dr Sufi Abu-Talib has said that the People's Assembly did not mean the journalists but was discussing the issue of all those who work abroad and harm Egypt's reputation. He said that we must safeguard the journalists who work in the Arab countries and who are playing an important role in the Arab press's renaissance.

The Journalists Union Council, led by Journalists Doyen Kamil Zuhayri, met with Dr Sufi Abu-Talib, the People's Assembly speaker, last Saturday.

Regarding the Journalists Union's opinion on the law of shame, the doyen presented to the Assembly speaker a memorandum pointing out the dangers of expanding the penalties concerning the freedom of opinion and the effect of such expansion on Egypt's international reputation in the sphere of human rights.

Dr Sufi Abu-Talib reaffirmed what had been earlier declared by the vice president of the republic to the effect that the law of shame has been no more than a visualization of the bill that has not been submitted officially yet.

8494

CSO: 4802

PROPOSALS MADE FOR DRAFTING NEW AGRICULTURAL COOPERATIVES LAW

Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 11 Feb 80 p 2

[Article by Engineer Mahmud Fawzi: "Will Agricultural Cooperatives Law Being Discussed in Air-Conditioned Rooms Destroy Remaining Cooperatives or Be Surprised"]

[Text] A new agricultural cooperative bill to replace the current law is being discussed. Have we put our finger on the flaws in the current law? Have we understood why five agricultural cooperative laws issued between 1923 and 1969 have failed to create a healthy agricultural cooperative movement and successful agricultural cooperatives performing their role toward the farmer and toward the state? Have we underlined the provisions in the current law that obstruct the growth of the agricultural cooperative movement? Has the current law or were the previous laws the cause for obstructing the growth and prosperity of the cooperative movement or are there causes not connected with the law?

Have we asked the farmers in the broad base, in the field and in the village what they want of the new law? All that we want them to answer is:

1. What do you want from the village agricultural cooperative? 2. What are the obstacles in the old law? 3. What are the additions needed in the new law? From the total opinions of farmers we will get constructive ideas and sound advice that will light our way in drawing up a new agricultural cooperative bill which will be then submitted for discussion.

Causes of Cooperative Movement's Failure to Grow:

The laws have never been the cause of the failure of the agricultural cooperative movement in Egypt. The most important causes of this failure are, with utter brevity:

1. State control over cooperative movement: The state's control over the cooperative movement has been much stronger than needed. It is necessary to provide the agricultural cooperative movement with the healthy atmosphere suitable for its growth by making the state supervision and guidance take a path that prevents exploitation and by not allowing this supervision and

guidance to reach the degree of stifling cooperation, which is what has happened. The mere fact that the session minutes of the executive councils of the cooperative associations need the approval of the cooperative director and then that of the inspector of cooperatives and so forth kills the principle of cooperation which considers the basis of cooperation to consist of the freedom of the cooperative society to:

1. Make its decision.
2. Implement this decision.

This is why the cooperatives have turned into semi-governmental units that are as remote from real cooperation as can be.

2. Domination by the Agricultural Credit Establishment: Since 1931, the Credit Bank has been a cause behind the beginning of the growth of the cooperative movement. The bank should have reduced his adoption of the cooperative movement gradually so as to give it the freedom of action. But the Credit Bank continued to adopt the cooperative movement until it suffocated and then encouraged the cooperative associations to borrow as single units. The bank continues, even at present, to loan the farmers as individuals while the association continues to be a mere slogan. The bank has also controlled all the accounting, financing, supply, marketing and auditing operations. The various operations of all the cooperative association officials concerned with accounting--such as the accounts chief, the clerks, the storekeepers, the cashiers and others--have also been under the full control of the Credit Bank. The other employees are fully controlled by the Ministry of Agriculture in performing their services of pest and insect control, organizing the crop cycles, agricultural collectivization [al-tajmi' al-zira'i] and crop structure. In the cotton pest control season, the cooperative falls under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture completely.

3. Failure to Understand Reality, Means and Methods of Agricultural Cooperation: The work of an agricultural cooperative depends on money, whether borrowed or acquired through participation and revenues. Without money, the work of a cooperative comes to a halt. The cooperatives should have collected a marketing commission of three percent for crops, 1.5 percent in loan interest differential, 2 mils for the association in fodder differential per kilogram and 3 pounds per feddan annually. The ministers used to stop all such charges under the pretext that they exhaust the farmer. How can this be? If an association member pays, for example, 3 pounds per feddan and the association purchases a tractor, this will save the farmer a lot more than 3 pounds in fees for ploughing the land. If the association buys a (combine), the farmer would have to pay more and so forth. Every surplus realized by the association at the end of the year should be returned to the farmer in the form of revenues. This is the reason for the success of the agrarian reform associations. Another thing is that an association's work area must be connected with agricultural production and not with administrative division.

## Reasons for Success of Agrarian Reform Associations

The agrarian reform associations have achieved great success and they now offer their members the most valuable services and take part in the various activities of insuring food security. There are 757 agrarian reform cooperatives, of which 688 are local cooperatives and 69 are joint. There is also General Agrarian Reform Cooperative. These cooperatives have 480,000 members who own 855,000 feddans.

Their assets have amounted to 36 million pounds, including:

A sum of 5,772,565 pounds in cash bank deposits.

A sum of 10,267,083 pounds in warehouse assets.

A sum of 12,311,492 pounds in fixed assets.

A sum of 5,488,747 pounds in investment assets.

The capital of these associations has amounted to 1.5 million pounds.

### Reform Cooperatives' Projects:

The agrarian reform cooperatives carried out 359 projects costing 6 million pounds in 1979, including:

Two egg production projects with a capacity of 75 million eggs annually.

Nine chicken farms with a production capacity of 1.25 million chickens annually.

Ninety-eight honey production projects containing 6,955 beehives and producing 86,000 kilograms of honey annually.

These projects and others produce a net annual profit of 17 percent after all expenses.

### 1980 Projects:

Implementation of the 1980 projects has been started. These projects include:

Three projects for the production of 45 million eggs annually.

Two projects to fatten one half million chicks annually.

Two projects for the production of one million chicks and Peking ducks.

The costs of the 1980 projects amount to nearly 5 million pounds.



#### Rural Clubs and Libraries:

The agrarian reform associations have set up 396 rural clubs and libraries and carried out 316 village electrification projects.

Why have the agrarian reform cooperatives succeeded?

They have succeeded because the system set up for them in 1953 was compatible with the reality of the environment, the circumstances and the capabilities. For example:

#### Sound and Sufficient Financing:

An agrarian reform cooperative collects a commission of three percent for marketing crops from the members and collects a similar tax on land, i.e. nearly 6 pounds per feddan annually. It also collects other actual and realistic commissions from the members that enable the cooperative to perform and serve its members.

#### Sound Loans:

An agrarian reform cooperative gets loans from the Credit Bank as a legal status entity and the bank does not at all interfere in the distribution of the loans to the members.

#### Production Associations:

The agrarian reform cooperatives are as close as can be in their system to production association because the cooperative is actually responsible for agricultural production within its holdings. Thus, these cooperatives are the ones that are actually implementing the instructions of his excellency the president of the republic to develop the cooperatives from service to production cooperatives.

Will those drafting the cooperatives law benefit from the success of the agrarian reform cooperatives?

Now, we have before us a successful model of agricultural cooperation that has served and raised the standard of farmers who had no land previously and that has served the state by raising production and implementing the agricultural policy. Even the state is implementing in the lands of the agrarian reform cooperatives what it cannot implement in the other cooperatives, such as cultivating Mexican wheat. Will this successful model be presented to the committees drafting the new cooperation law? Will the committees proceed to the countryside and to the fields so that the law may emanate from the realities on the spot and may be compatible with the conditions, with the reality and with the capabilities or will another agricultural cooperation law be drafted to join the list of previous agricultural cooperation laws?

## EGYPT

### BRIEFS

**LIBERAL PARTY CAIRO SECRETARIAT**--The Cairo Secretariat of the Socialist Liberal Party has been formed of: Dr Mamduh Salim, chairman; Muhammad 'Abd-al-Latif Dahruj, deputy chairman; Maj Gen Na'im Qurtam, deputy chairman and chairman of the National Security Committee; Fikri Farid Qurtam, secretary general; Kamil 'Abd-al-Mawjud Muhammad, treasurer; 'Uthman Abu-Bakr Muhammad, administrative secretary and official in charge of Membership Affairs Committee. The following have been selected chairmen of the specialized committees: Ahmad Ghunaym, chairman of the Propagation and Thought Committee; 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abd-al-Mun'im, alias 'Adil al-Iskandarani, chairman of the Youth Committee; Muhammad Muhammad Madbuli, chairman of the Workers Committee and 'Ayidah Muhammad Shukri, chairwoman of the Women's Committee. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 11 Feb 80 p 2] 8494

**PROVINCIAL POPULAR CONFERENCES**--The Liberal Party has decided to hold monthly popular conferences in the various governorates to revive the democratic action and to fill the vacuum created by the ruling National Party. Mustafa Kamil Murad, the party chairman, will focus in these conferences on the party's role in the coming phase, considering that the Liberal Party is the only party that declares its opinion truthfully and courageously and represents the other opinion. On the other hand, the party has completed the formation of its provincial committees in order to complete the pyramidal structure of the party organizations. The party's provincial chairmen have also prepared reports on the party's activities to be discussed by the Liberal Party's General Secretariat. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 11 Feb 80 p 2] 8494

**LIBERAL PARTY'S ALEXANDRIA SECRETARY**--Maj Gen Muhammad 'Awni Yasin has been appointed secretary general of the Socialist Liberal Party in Alexandria Governorate and a member of the party's Political Bureau and of the Parliamentary Committee. Lawyer Raja' Rashad, the Liberal Party's deputy chairman in Alexandria Governorate, has been appointed a member of the party's Permanent Council. [Text] [Cairo AL-AHRAR in Arabic 11 Feb 80 p 2] 8494

CSO: 4802

LABOR PARTY WANTS RIOTS CAUSED BY NATIONAL PARTY IN ASYUT INVESTIGATED

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 29 Jan 80 p 1

[Article: "Labor Party Follows Up and Demands Those Responsible for Asyut Riots Be Questioned Politically"]

[Text] Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, the Socialist Labor Party assistant secretary general, has stated that the party is keeping up with the investigation being conducted by Maj Gen Muhammad Nabawi Isma'il on the failure displayed by the Asyut security agencies during the visit paid to the governorate by a party delegation under the leadership of Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, the party chairman.

The assistant secretary general has stated that the party demands that Fikri Makram 'Ubayd, the Democratic National Party secretary general, shoulder his political responsibility for the rioting caused by some National Party members in Asyut and that 'Ubayd interrogate these members politically and subject them to partisan questioning so as to preserve the safety and continuity of the democratic march which must be based on free democratic dialogue and not on the hurling of cement blocks and of chairs--something which ended with the end of the methods of the pre-23 July 1952 parties and with the beginning of abidance by the concepts of the democratic May 1971 revolution.

Dr al-Hadidi has said that the party respects the explanations presented by Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil to Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, the Labor Party chairman, and Dr Mustafa Khalil's assertion of the need to safeguard the method of democratic dialogue.

The party is awaiting the outcome of the political, legal and administrative investigation of the events in Asyut.

8494

CSO: 4802

LABOR PARTY CHAIRMAN TOURS ASYUT

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 29 Jan 80 p 2

[Article: "Our Position of Strengthening National Unity Is Firm"]

[Text] Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, the Labor Party Chairman, paid during his tour to Asyut a visit to al-Malak [Angel] Church of the Orthodox Copts and met with Abba Mikha'il, the bishop of Asyut.

Shukri also visited the Catholic Copts Bishopric and met with Bishop Hanna Nuwayr.

Shukri affirmed to both bishops the party's firm position of strengthening and clinging to national unity.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri also met with Amin Khallah, the lawyers doyen in Asyut. The party chairman then had lunch at the Asyut Municipal Club at the invitation of Karam 'Isa, the People's Party member for Abnub district. Shukri was invited to dinner by colleague Ahmad Farghali, the People's Assembly member for Asyut district.

During his visit to Dayrut on the following day, Shukri was invited to lunch by Yahya al-Kilani, the People's Assembly member for Dayrut district.

Shukri then visited the Orthodox Coptic Bishopric in Dayrut where his beatitude the bishop presented him with a copy of the venerable Koran as a gift.

He had dinner at the residence of the family of Ibrahim al-Quarashi, the People's Assembly member for Dayrut.

The party chairman was accompanied on this tour by Rif'at al-Shahawi, the party's secretary general; Engineer Muhibb Istaynu, Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, the party's assistant secretary; Ibrahim al-Qurashi, Sayyid Rustum, Artist Hamdi Ahmad, Shaykh Ibrahim al-'Azazi and Ahmad Farghali, members of the party's Parliamentary Committee, and 'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Tunisi, the party secretary in Manfalut.



### **Labor Party Organizes Pilgrimages to Mecca**

It has been decided to accept the applications of the Socialist Labor Party members wishing to visit the holy lands within the pilgrimage tours organized by the party for the coming month of February. The applications are accepted at the party's General Secretariat Offices, located at 12 A, Crown Prince Street in al-Qubba Gardens, Cairo. The applications are also accepted by the party's secretaries in the governorates.

8494

CSO: 4802

LAWYERS UNION TO BOYCOTT NORMALIZATION UNTIL COMPLETE EVACUATION

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 29 Jan 80 p 7

[Article: "Lawyers Union Decides to Boycott Normalization of Relations Until Evacuation of Last Israeli Soldier"]

[Text] The Lawyers Union Executive Council has held an emergency meeting under the chairmanship of Ahmad al-Khawajah, the lawyers doyen. The meeting lasted 4.5 hours and ended with the following resolutions:

1. To boycott any dealings with Israel until the evacuation of the last Israeli soldier from Sinai and the occupied Arab land, including Jerusalem.
2. To reject any attempt to supply the Nile water to Israel in any form or way.
3. To reject the principle of setting up military pacts in the area and reject the establishment of any foreign military bases or the providing of any military facilities in the Arab area and Egypt.
4. To amend the constitution in order to abolish the socialist public prosecutor position.
5. To reject the values protection draft law because of its encroachment on the fundamental rights of the Egyptian citizen and its violation of the existing constitution.
6. To demand abolition of the state of emergency because of the disappearance of its causes.
7. To demand the establishment of a sound democracy, release of the freedom of forming parties without restrictions and obstacles and abolition of political isolation.
8. Abolition of all legislations restricting liberties.

9. Formation of a committee to draft a statement on the national public action issues to be published in AL-MUHAMAH [The Legal Profession] and to be distributed to: Mahir Khamis, 'Abd-al-'Al Arjun, Ahmad Ghatari and the gentlemen signing the request.

10. The adoption of a firm national stance on these issues.

8494

CSO: 4802

SHUKRI OPPOSED TO SPEEDING UP NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS WITH ISRAEL

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 29 Jan 80 p 3

[Article by Ibrahim Shukri: "There Must Be Complete Linkage Between Normalization Steps and Their Effectiveness on One Hand and Progress in Self-Rule Negotiations on Other Hand"]

[Text] I am writing these words on Sunday morning. Tomorrow, God willing, we will hear President al-Sadat's speech. However, the important events that have taken place during the week deserve a comment.

On Friday, 25 January, a number of military and civilian Egyptians performed thanksgiving prayers in the passes area of Sinai after we regained this area that is important and vital for defending the canal and the delta from the east--an area aptly called the eastern wall. Two thirds of the Sinai were thus evacuated according to the definition known as the al-'Arish-Ra's Muhammad line. [sic]

There is no doubt that all have participated in this accomplishment. We hasten to congratulate President al-Sadat because he is the maker of the crossing decision and of the initiative.

It is indubitable that every soldier, officer and civilian who took part in the October 1973 battle contributed toward this accomplishment. Without the outcome of that battle, we would not have been able to sit with the Israelis around the negotiations table and the talks would not have been between two opponents who had proven that war takes turns, that one side cannot be always victorious and that combat capability and the absorption of the arts of modern war are not an Israeli monopoly.

I have read a lot of reports, articles and comments published in the national press and written by writers and journalists to explain and glorify the liberation of this important part of the homeland, namely two thirds of the Sinai with their oil, manganese, coal, holy sites and strategic passes. Most of what has been written is good and reflects the truth. But I have felt in few of these writings a tone that wants to focus on Israel's decency and on the credit that goes to Israel for implementing the provisions of the treaty and for abiding by the dates and signatures.



It is as if the abidance came from Israel alone and as if we were supposed to abide unilaterally and Israel was supposed to violate its commitments.

I tell these that Egypt has fulfilled its commitments and more. We have volunteered to respond to some demands not included in the agreements, such as setting a certain quantity of oil to be sold to Israel, advancing dates for the normalization processes, opening the door of tourism to the St. Catherine area ahead of the date for allowing traffic between the two countries, and so forth.

So the statement that completing the evacuation from al-'Arish-Ra's Muhammad line on schedule is an act for which Israel deserves a special award is a rejected statement.

I am saying this in connection with what was published in OCTOBER magazine on Saturday, i.e. just before President al-Sadat's speech which is scheduled for Monday. I will transmit in bold print what was written in the first page of the magazine. What did OCTOBER magazine write under the title: 15 February, Start of Complete Normalization Between Egypt and Israel?

"If President al-Sadat's initiative of November 1977 is the cornerstone in the edifice of peace, then 25 February 1980 is a day which completes the projection of peace between Egypt and Israel in action and in the hope of comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

"Israel has abided by implementation of the agreement and has fulfilled all its requirements with utter honesty and honor. This is why after President al-Sadat's meeting with Ezer Weizman, the Israeli minister of defense, last Wednesday, the President instructed Dr Mustafa Khalil, the prime minister and the minister of foreign affairs, to consider the 15th of the coming month of February the beginning of full normalization between Egypt and Israel without the need to wait for any other dates.

"Consequently, all the cultural, technical and trade delegations and committees between the two countries can start their activities.

"President al'Sadat has also issued his instructions to the prime minister to make our main preoccupation the issue of self-rule and of Jerusalem."

Here ends OCTOBER's article and I have intentionally transmitted it in full so that we may not be accused of citing a part of the article and commenting on it in the manner of those who go to prayers drunk.

We have no objection to having self-rule and Jerusalem as the issue pre-occupying us but we cannot consider this as some kind of an initiative. This is normal, considering that the first phase of implementing the peace treaty has been completed with evacuation to the al-'Arish-Ra's Muhammad line and that there are two long years for evacuation from the remaining part of Sinai. Meanwhile, only 4 months remain for the deadline to complete

the Palestinian self-rule talks. Therefore, it is natural, even necessary, that this issue should be the issue preoccupying the mind of the Egyptian negotiator day and night for the next 4 months.

Our objection is to the setting of 15 February as the date for beginning the full normalization between Egypt and Israel whereas the treaty sets a date that falls one month after completion of the first evacuation, i.e. 25 February, for beginning discussion of the normalization steps over a period of 6 months.

I wish that OCTOBER's article, "Full Normalization," were linked with full rule [sic]. This is the logic, even the basis, which we heard from the minister of foreign affairs when the provisions of the treaty and of the accords were discussed [by the People's Assembly]. I even remember that it was said during the discussions that to deal with Israel's refusal to link the Egyptian treaty and the steps of evacuation from the Sinai with the steps of implementing the full Palestinian self-rule, a kind of linkage would be made between the normalization steps and their effectiveness on the one hand and progress in the self-rule negotiations on the other.

Moreover, the People's Assembly agreed unanimously only 2 weeks ago that the steps to normalize the relations between Egypt and Israel should proceed deliberately because the Assembly has noticed Israel's evasiveness and its faulty interpretations concerning the nature and goal of the self-rule.

We do not want Israel to score a new success by creating and then highlighting the presence of difference of opinion in the domestic Egyptian front. The policy unanimously declared by the People's Assembly on the issue of normalization is in complete contrast with the statements made by the officials this week on speeding up the full normalization at a time when no progress has been made in the self-rule negotiations and the negotiations on the status of the Arab Jerusalem. It is as if Israel is not content with this division that it has created between Egypt and the Arab states by its intransigence and its clinging to certain conditions--conditions stipulated as a result of its evaluation of the situation concerning evacuation from the Sinai compared to its claims to its right to the West Bank or Judea and Samaria, as Israel calls the West Bank, and to Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Unwise actions by some Arab rulers have also helped Israel achieve this strategic goal.

Let our decision be the one unanimously approved by the People's Assembly and calling for linkage between the normalization steps and their effectiveness on the one hand and progress in realizing the goal of the self-rule negotiations. As for the call to speed up the process of full normalization without linkage between speeding up this process and speeding up the realization of results in the self-rule talks whose deadline will arrive in 4 months, it is a decision that we do not approve, especially since Israel has demonstrated clearly in every step of the negotiations its intransigent insistence that there is no official linkage between the

Egyptian-Israeli treaty and the self-rule agreement. This intransigence was demonstrated even after the conclusion of the treaty and of the accords. Perhaps we still remember that the exchange of the treaty documents was delayed for more than 4 hours just because these documents and the letters exchanged on the self-rule issue were in one document [sic] when approved by the People's Assembly.

Moreover, Israel has threatened not to abide by implementing the treaty if resolution 242 is amended whereas most opinions have agreed that such amendment will perhaps bring closer a solution to the Palestinian issue through the participation of the people concerned [Palestinians]. Israel has embarrassed us with this position, considering that we welcomed at the outset any amendment serving the Palestinian cause and then backed down in the face of Israel's insistence on the adoption of a different position.

Israel is Israel and we must be most careful in our dealings with it. The fact that it has fulfilled the provisions of the treaty concerning the first stage of evacuation from the Sinai does not mean that Israel will return the rights to their owners. Israel is trying to make gains in every step. Even this withdrawal to this [al-'Arish-Ra's Muhammad] line is not surprising. The NEW GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE published years ago boundaries that Israel has drawn up for itself--boundaries that make al-'Arish-Ra's Muhammad line Israel's eastern border. So let us beware. It is Israel. God be my witness that I have conveyed the message. God is great and long live the people.

8494  
CSO: 4802

JOURNALISTS DOYEN CRITICIZES SOCIALIST PROSECUTOR BILL

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 29 Jan 80 pp 6-7

[Article: "Journalists Doyen Says: Socialist Prosecutor Bill Undermines Freedom of Opinion, Expression and Belief and Shackles Public Liberties"]

[Text] Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, the Socialist Labor Party chairman, invited last week the Lawyers Union, the Journalists Union and all the citizens to discuss the socialist prosecutor bill. We present today the opinion of the journalists doyen, the position of the Lawyers Union and Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad's article. Next week, we will present an article by Dr Muhammad 'Asfur on the law of shame.

The discussion on the socialist prosecutor bill has not ended yet. This bill has drawn the attention of and has preoccupied the thinkers and people of opinion in Egypt because it is a bill that affects all dimensions of the democratic experience. Despite this fact, only one of the national newspapers has published on this issue a few lines that are incompatible with the serious nature of this bill which is connected with the freedom of opinion, belief and thought and with the fundamental rights of the Egyptian citizen.

Kamil Zuhayri, the journalists doyen, has spoken to the people on this bill, saying that it does actually affect the citizen's fundamental rights, namely: The right of belief and the freedom of opinion and of expression.

Egypt is no stranger to public rights. Even though the constitutions of 1879 and 1882 made no provisions concerning the Egyptian citizen's public rights, all the constitutions that followed--namely the constitutions of 1923, 1930, 1956, 1964 and 1971--have dealt with these rights clearly, underlining the citizen's right to the freedom of belief, the freedom of expression and the freedom of opinion.

It is also to be noted that the 1971 constitution has also stipulated the right of unionist affiliation and underlined the importance of the unions as democratic organizations in drafting charters of honor and in bringing their members to account. The rights of gathering, of forming parties and of setting up unions are considered fundamental rights, a yardstick for



the progress of nations and even a condition for any state to join the world community. This is why, Zuhayri goes on to say, we find the voices of human rights, the human rights associations and the human rights issues brought up at the United Nations and in the international conferences and councils.

The journalists doyen has further added: It is surprising that such an important bill as the socialist prosecutor bill which deals essentially with imposing shackles on the public liberties gets no more than 20 lines from one of the daily newspapers. It makes a man wonder when he finds out how the 1923 constitution was debated. At the time, AL-AHRAM, AL-SIYASAH and AL-AKHBAR displayed their interest in the issue and Mahmud 'Azmi, Amin al-Rafi'i, Muhammad Husayn Haykal, Shaykh Muhammad Bakhit and others wrote series of articles on man's general rights and on public liberties. So how can we be content with a few lines on serious issues at a time when we are approaching the end of the 20th century?

Kamil Zuhayri went on to say: I believe that statements saying that the penalties stipulated by the bill will amount to no more than measures, such as denial of political rights and the right to nomination for the People's Assembly and for unions--I believe that these statements make it sound as if these penalties can be dismissed lightly, keeping in mind that a public figure has no asset in life other than his reputation in society. Denial of political rights might be harsher than solitary confinement because it is some kind of moral imprisonment that is no less painful than physical imprisonment. Jailing minds is no less serious than jailing bodies.

There is another surprising thing. We are heading for the abolition of custodianship in order to safeguard private ownership whereas this law, regardless of what controls and guarantees are designed for it, is tantamount to a kind of custodianship on thought and on the freedom of belief, opinion and expression. I hope strongly that this bill will be stopped out of faith in our democratic legacy. Egypt has known seven constitutions and it knew the first book on the freedom of the press in the Arab world more than 100 years ago. Our public life has been imbued with the importance of the concept that a free homeland is built on a free citizen.

I am afraid to say that the criteria that will be established for the Values Court will constitute practically a violation of the freedom of conscience and a retreat from true democracy.

8494

CSO: 4802

EDITORIAL URGES NATIONAL PARTY TO PRACTICE DEMOCRACY

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 5 Feb 80 p 1

[Editorial by Hamid Zaydan: "So That Democracy May Not Lose Its Mind"]

[Text] Practicing democracy is one thing and talking about it is another. We practice democracy and don't talk about it a lot. Some people talk about democracy a lot and we ask them to practice democracy as much as they talk about it.

We submit the law of shame for broad discussion and we invite everybody with an opinion and everybody eager to have an opinion to take part in this broad discussion because discussion and dialogue are the true exercise of democracy.

On the occasion, I would like to point our position toward the statements of Mansur Hasan, the minister of information, at AL-AHRAM symposium 2 weeks ago. We welcomed the dialogue urged by the minister at the symposium and started the dialogue by stating that it is not enough to set controls and that the ethics of the dialogue must be defined first.

I did not know at the time that a dialogue with bricks and chairs was proceeding in Asyut against a meeting called for by the Socialist Labor Party--a dialogue similar to those conducted by the pre-revolution parties. The security men, led by the security director, were a few steps away but failed, like the pre-revolution police, to intervene. The governor of Asyut was not present in the city or in the governorate.

All this is not important. The absence of the governor does not mean the absence of the governorate or of security. What is important is that the minister of information called for dialogue and we welcomed the dialogue. The dialogue will not stop just because a handful of individuals tried to bring back the methods of the distant past and to impose bricks and chairs as a means of dialogue.

Moreover, the dialogue will not stop because a security director failed in his task under the pretext of neutrality or because a governor was absent from his office for "health reasons" and because, as a result, the

governorate and security disappeared with him. What happened in Asyut had not been precedented and has not been followed by anything similar in any of the republic's governorates. Our conferences are still held in all the governorates, the latest being the conference held in al-Mansurah last Friday.

We are a part of Egypt and we represent an important part of its thought and of the structure of its democratic system. Moreover, our party is one of its legally existing establishments. The failure by some people and the inability of others to appreciate their responsibility will not affect the importance of our role.

We have already said, and our statements were addressed to the National Party leaderships, that haughtiness and disregard will not affect our confidence in ourselves, in our role and in our thought.

All these are settled issues that are no longer the subject of discussion. Because of all of the abovementioned, we cling to the dialogue and urge the minister of information to abide by every word he said at AL-AHRAM symposium and to begin personally calling for this dialogue.

Therefore, and because of all of the abovementioned, we cling to one form of dialogue between the ruling party and the opposition, namely the form of coordination with the opposition on the national issues so that the ruling party may not make the political and fateful decisions independently.

Therefore, and because of all of the abovementioned, we also cling to the right of the organizations of the ruling party itself to take part in issuing the decisions adopted by the ruling party's government--a participation which should precede the issuance of the decisions because participation after issuance of the decisions is some sort of support and applause for the sake of support and applause.

Therefore, and because of all of the abovementioned, we cling to the right of the People's Assembly to fully discuss such political decisions before they are issued and declared because the People's Assembly is the place and the authority to declare them.

On the basis of all this, we urge the People's Assembly to discuss in detail, for example, the bills of the law of shame, the socialist prosecutor law and others and urge the overwhelming majority to respect, without haughtiness and without disregard, the minority's opinion. The overwhelming majority may hear beneficial words in the discussions, without the vituperation, the clamor and the scenes that some people think can diminish the value of another person or another opinion, not knowing that they thus cause democracy to lose one of its two eyes and an important part of its mind.

Therefore, and because of all of the abovementioned, we cling to the right of every state authority to exercise its powers without the encroachment or interference of another authority.

## JUDGES CLUB DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL OF LAW OF SHAME

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 5 Feb 80 pp 1, 2

[Article: "Judges Club Executive Council Declares That Law of Shame Constitutes Flagrant Violation of Judiciary's Independence and Demands That Bill Be Withdrawn Out of Respect for Constitution"]

[Text] The Cairo Judges Club Executive Council has held an emergency meeting to discuss the law of shame. The council has decided that the law constitutes a flagrant violation of the judiciary's independence and has demanded that the officials withdraw the bill. Following is the text of the resolutions:

First, cable all the officials that the council, as a result of this study [sic], stresses that the bill contains constitutional violations and enormous legislative flaws, constitutes a flagrant violation of the judiciary's independence and involves partisan elements in trying the citizens, thus denying them and their ordinary judges the constitutional guarantees of neutrality and impartiality that are secured by the independence of the judiciary. The council urges the officials to withdraw the bill out of respect for the constitution and in affirmation of the principle of the supremacy of the law and of the independence of the judiciary.

Second, designate the council's first open meeting with the members, scheduled for 14 February 1980, to discuss this bill.

Third, invite the club's extraordinary general assembly to meet, if necessary.

Fourth, consider the Executive Council in a state of constant convocation to keep up with the developments that take place in connection with this bill.

Fifth, convey immediately the outcome of the council's study to the members of the Higher Council of the Judiciary Authorities, considering that they will study this bill today.

AL-SHA'B has learned that the General Assembly of the Appellate Court Counselors and the Appellate Court will meet separately to discuss the bill. The Alexandria Judges Club Executive Council has also decided to invite the General Assembly to convene next Thursday to discuss the bill.



## EGYPT

### LABOR PARTY OPPOSED TO QUICKENED NORMALIZATION, ARAB LEAGUE ALTERNATIVE

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 5 Feb 80 p 2

[Article: "Law of Shame Is Step Backward and Restricts Freedom of Opinion and of Thought"]

[Text] Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, the Labor Party chairman, has criticized strongly the law of shame bill published in the press recently, saying that in the form in which it has been published the bill constitutes a deviation from all the frameworks of democracy and is a step backward.

He has demanded that the bill be subjected to the debate it deserves in the People's Assembly and in the professional and trade unions. In the party's weekly colloquium, the party chairman said that it is unreasonable that yardsticks be set for ethics because the issuance of laws that determine society's conduct means restricting the freedom of opinion and thought as understood by modern societies.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri also pointed out that the Labor Party had already opposed in its program the concept of the socialist prosecutor in principle. He said: In the light of what has been published, I again reaffirm our opposition to this concept. Shukri pointed out that the bill published in the press states that the court which will apply the law will consist of three counselors and four People's Assembly members who will, of course, be selected from among the ruling National Party members. Consequently, it will be in the power of the National Party members to place any opponent under house arrest, to isolate him politically and to prevent him from nominating himself for the People's Assembly membership.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri also said: If this law assigned the acts within its purview to an ordinary court, it would be possible to say that there is justice.

The party chairman wondered: "Don't our judges know society's ethics? These judges are concerned with justice only."

He said that the promulgation of such a law will prevent representation of the ruling party in the international organizations that believe in democracy, such as the Socialist International.

### Islamic League Decision Must Not Be Reaction to What Others Do:

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri has also criticized the idea of replacing the Arab League by a league of the Arab and Islamic peoples and has wondered who will represent these Arab and Islamic peoples. Will they be represented by those who oppose their governments and regimes, thus gathering in Cairo a bunch of mercenaries?

He asserted that such a situation will not be in the interest of Egypt and the Arab world because it will change the position of the Arab governments toward any Egyptian going to any of the Arab states out of fear that he will polarize the elements opposed to the existing regimes.

Shukri also pointed out that this idea conflicts with the contents of the government statement to the People's Assembly only 6 weeks ago--a statement which stressed the government's adherence to the Arab League.

Shukri added: Naturally, the government statement was preceded by numerous studies. So how could this idea be projected now? Is this done in reaction to the Arab states' criticism of the peace accords between us and Israel?

He said that our policy should not consist of reactions to what the others do. The presence of a crisis between us and the Arab states should not mean changing the essence of our policy. We may perhaps be able to reach a solution for the Palestinian issue and the Arab states will then realize that Egypt has not abandoned the Palestinian cause which is at the core of the conflict in the area.

### Failure of Negotiations Puts Us in Difficult Position:

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri then proceeded to talk about the normalization of relations with Israel before complete withdrawal from the Sinai and the realization of progress toward solving the Palestinian self-rule problem. He demanded that evacuation to Egypt's international borders be effected as quickly as possible and before the end of the two-year period set by the Camp David accords as long as we have speeded up the normalization of relations. He pointed out that transferring the Israeli airfields in Sinai and building two bases in the Negev desert to replace them can be done quickly. He also demanded linkage between the steps to normalize the relations with Israel and progress in the Palestinian self-rule negotiations that are faltering because of Israel's intransigence, pointing out that only 4 months remain for the deadline to complete these negotiations by the end of this May.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri wondered how we can speed up the normalization process when Dr Butrus Ghali, the minister of state for foreign affairs, has declared that Egypt is trying to link self-rule with the normalization of relations. Moreover, the People's Assembly has urged in its statement the need for deliberateness in the normalization of relations.

Ibrahim Shukri also warned of the consequences of failing to realize self-rule within the set period and said that such failure will put us in a position difficult to defend before the Arab world in front of whom we have committed ourselves to achieve the self-rule and not just to solve the Egyptian problem. Israel will be then able to smash the Arab unity that achieved the great October victory.

#### Concerning Asyut Incident

Engineer Shukri also spoke about the attack which took place against the popular conference held by the Labor Party on the 20th of last January. He said that he has asked Dr Mustafa Khalil, the prime minister, and Minister of Interior Nabawi Isma'il, in his capacity as the National Party's assistant secretary of organization, to conduct a political investigation in the National Party on this attack.

He also said that the recently published statements made by Fikri Makram 'Ubayd and Nabawi Isma'il that those who made the attack are intruding elements on the party demonstrate goodwill by the National Party leaderships. However, we must follow up the issue because the question is not just a question of demonstrating goodwill. Those who violated security and flouted the simplest rules of the democratic exercise must be punished.

#### Modest Beginning

Regarding the decision reached during the meeting of the party's chairman with the prime minister to allocate five headquarters for the party in some governorates and to help AL-SHA'B newspaper, Engineer Ibrahim Shukri said that this constitutes a modest beginning that indicates goodwill. But we declare that this does not constitute a bribe to the party and that it is a right as long as the system is based on the multiplicity of parties and on opinion and counter opinion. As long as this is the structure of the regime, it is unreasonable that the Labor Party not be given the chance to express its view of the political events in the various state-owned information media which give the opportunity to the Democratic National Party alone even though the law stipulates that the opportunity should be given to all the parties to express their opinion.

#### Arab League and Arab Solidarity

Fu'ad Nushi, the Labor Party's information secretary, had declared at the outset of the colloquium his opposition to the idea of establishing a league for the Arab and Islamic peoples as an alternative to the Arab League. He pointed out that article one of the Egyptian constitution promulgated in 1971 and the preamble of the constitution state that Egypt is a part of the Arab nation. The constituent statement of the Socialist Labor Party also stresses this meaning.

He said that regardless of the disagreement in the relations with the Arab governments, we are still one nation. The Arab League--regardless of what

has been said about its creation and about its failure to achieve the desired results--is the only picture that has survived in the past 35 years since the creation of the League in 1945. More than 20 Arab organizations have emanated from this league.

#### Unity of Arab Ranks is Best Security for Future

Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, the party's assistant secretary general and the People's Assembly member, spoke about the lessons learned from the flagrant anniversary of the venerable prophet's birthday. He called for remembering these lessons and principles on which the Islamic state was built on unity, solidarity, absence of discrimination and equality among people. He said: How gravely do we need the unity of rank and word that we have learned from the venerable prophet's anniversary!

#### Why Was Party Member Banned From Attending al-Sadat Meeting?

Rashad al-Shabrakhumi, member of the Labor Party's Popular Committee and of al-Minufiyah Governorate Local Council, then recounted how he was prevented from attending President al-Sadat's meeting with the popular leaderships of al-Minufiyah which took place in Mit Abu-al-Kawm on the occasion of the president's birthday.

He said that, regrettably, there are elements of the National Party that obstruct the meeting of the head of the Egyptian family with the Labor Party members and that this is tantamount to a deviation from the Egyptian family of whom the president is proud to be the head. The president is even prouder of being the head of this family than being the chairman of the National Party.

Al-Shabrakhumi said that a number of al-Minufiyah Local Council members, including himself, had submitted a request to meet with President al-Sadat and that he was later surprised to find his name excluded from the list of those to attend the meeting. He thought he was excluded in his capacity as a member of the local council and that the meeting was to be confined to the People's Assembly members. But he then found out that 'Abd-al-Sami' Mabruk, another colleague from the Labor Party who is a member of the People's Assembly, was also excluded, thus realizing that there is discrimination in permitting communication with the president between the National Party members and the Labor Party members.

Al-Shabrakhumi asked: Does it please President al-Sadat to meet with one part of the Egyptian family and not the other?

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CSO: 4802



LAWYERS UNION CALLS LAW OF SHAME UNCONSTITUTIONAL

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 5 Feb 80 p 6

[Article: "Lawyers Union Colloquium; Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad: Subjecting Judiciary to Ruling Party's Will; Dr Muhammad 'Asfur: Legal Men Who Betrayed Trust Are Responsible; Ahmad Nabil al-Hilali: Problem of Democracy Is Whether To Be or not To Be; Ahmad al-Khawajah: Discordant Law Between Penal Code and Constitution"]

[Text] The Lawyers Union held last Friday a colloquium to discuss the law of shame. Addressing the colloquium which lasted 3 hours were Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, Dr Muhammad 'Asfur, Lawyers Doyen Ahmad al-Khawajah and Nabil al-Hilali, member of the Lawyers Union Council.

Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad opened his address to the colloquium by saying: If this law [of shame] is destined to be promulgated, it will destroy democracy and will enable the ruling party to subject the judiciary to its will in order to eliminate the other opinion. This bill is not in the interest of the people.

Reviewing the provisions of the bill, Dr Hilmi said: The values court for which this bill calls is incompatible with the constitution. In its structure as stipulated by the bill, this court is not a court but, at best, an administrative committee with legal powers. Therefore, its powers can be appealed before the courts. For a court to be a court, its judges must be (word indistinct) and not subject to dismissal.

Dr Hilmi then pointed out how this court will be formed with the majority of its members from the ruling party and wondered: How can the trials be impartial and how can the ruling party try its opponents?

Dr Hilmi then dealt with the powers of the People's Assembly in accordance with the provisions of the constitution and demonstrated how they are given judiciary power in accordance with this bill, saying that this constitutes an encroachment on the judiciary authorities. Dr Hilmi then urged the judges to express their opinion on this law.

Dr Hilmi Murad then explained that this court is in violation of the constitutional provisions, pointing out that its sentences are final and not subject to appeal.

He also said that this court has the power to lift the sentence one year after it is issued and at the request of the convicted party. This means that it is a question of intimidating and then luring political opponents.

Dr Hilmi Murad also pointed out that the goal of this bill with its serious provisions is to prevent the Egyptian man from thinking so that he may not be tried by the values court which can impose numerous penalties, beginning with political isolation, house arrest, denial of the right to engage in the free professions and ending with arrest.

#### Prime Responsibility for Issuing Law

Dr Muhammad 'Asfur then took the floor to say: The prime responsibility for the issuance of this legislation falls on the shoulders of the legal men who have betrayed the trust.

Dr 'Asfur urged the Lawyers Union to condemn any unconstitutional legislation so that it may not be said that everything is done legally.

Dr 'Asfur also said that when the law is issued, it will not have an explanatory supplement. As far as I know, the law's explanatory supplements are the public speeches of the officials.

Dr 'Asfur then recalled some of these speeches, stressing that they constitute the bill's theoretical basis. He said that the concept of ethics is not a new but an old concept and that it has been severely criticized by legal men because the rule of ethics cannot replace the law.

He reached the conclusion that the law of shame which is based on ethics is rejected democratically, constitutionally and legally.

He said that the law of shame is shame itself because it talks of values when it encroaches on all values and when its goal is to eliminate the opposition.

#### Should Democracy Be or not Be

Ahmad Nabil al-Hilali, member of the Lawyers Union Council, then said: The issue must be discussed within the framework of the public liberties and we should not view it sectorally. The problem is whether democracy should or should not be. The draft law of shame is a step to normalize special legislation, to overlook the constitutional institutions and to outflank the principles of democracy laid down by the judiciary on the issues of liberties.

This new bill is tantamount to a new massacre of the judiciary and to withdrawing confidence in the judiciary. The 1968 massacre was a massacre against individuals whereas the massacre caused by this bill will be a massacre against an entire authority.

Nabil al-Hilali added: The bill includes a provision declaring war on and seeking to starve political opponents. This provision consists of a paragraph in article 9 banning the individual from engaging in economic activity or in the free professions.

Nabil al-Hilali said that the task of the union should not be just the convocation and then termination of a colloquium and demanded that the union adopt practical measures within the framework of legitimacy and the law. He then appealed to all the political forces and the judiciary to discuss the bill extensively and urged all the forces and organizations to use their constitutional right and to appeal against this law to all the international bodies and organizations with the power to implement human rights.

#### Position of Lawyers and Legists

Muhammad Fahim, a Lawyers Union Council member, then wondered if the national press, which has covered and lauded the strike of the lawyers in Syria over the state of emergency, will cover and laud the position of Egypt's lawyers toward this bill.

Concluding the colloquium, Ahmad al-Khawajah, the lawyers doyen, said: I have read this law in the hope of finding a classification for it among the laws. I have found it to be an odd law that can be included under neither the penal code nor the constitution.

The people's lives and liberties are trusts in the hand of the law. In my entire life I have not found a law that begins with the word "questioned" but have always found laws beginning with the word "punished." In accordance with this bill, measures have turned into penalties and penalties should only be imposed by the judiciary.

Law is not philosophy or logic. It is a deep-rooted science that seeks to wrench the freedom of the citizen from the talons of the ruler and thus constitutions have attained the highest objective and have turned government into government of the majority, i.e. the so-called government of the people by the people for the people.

The lawyers doyen said: Our task is to take back everything to its correct origins. What is among us today is not correct. This colloquium will be printed in a pamphlet and distributed to everybody engaged in the legal profession. I will personally deliver a copy to the People's Assembly speaker to tell him that this is the harvest of the legists.

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LABOR PARTY CONFERENCE IN AL-MANSURAH DISCUSSES NORMALIZATION, DEMOCRACY

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 5 Feb 80 p 6

[Article: "Party Conference in al-Mansurah Urges President al-Sadat, Professional and Labor Unions and Youth not to Approve Law of Shame"]

[Text] Engineer Ibrahim Shukri has declared that the law of shame does not concern the People's Assembly alone but also concerns all the people. He has also urged President al-Sadat not to approve this law and has called on the professional and labor unions and youth to send letters to the People's Assembly and to the other authorities expressing opposition to this law.

Shukri also said that full normalization between us and Israel must be coupled with self-rule for the Palestinians and that peace cannot turn into a reality in the Arab area unless the state of Palestine is established. Shukri also called for expressing support for the Egyptian negotiator in the face of the evasiveness of the intransigent Israeli negotiator.

The chairman of the Socialist Labor Party has objected to the attempt to undermine Egypt's weight because Egypt is a part of the entire Arab nation.

He said that the Socialist Labor Party wants only to support a regime established on democratic bases and that the party has not been formed to oppose but to say the free word.

He also urged the people's masses to opt in the referendum which will be conducted on the Arab relations the position that bolsters our rapprochement with the Arab peoples.

He warned against the Israeli cultural invasion and said that insofar as the Arab interests are concerned, it is easy to deal with the diplomatic relations between us and Israel at any time but implanting the Zionist thought in our soil threatens all our values and heritage and is difficult to uproot later.

This was stated at the popular conference held by the Socialist Labor Party in the city of al-Mansurah last Friday and attended by party leaders:



Lawyer Rif'at al-Shahawi, the party's secretary general; Fu'ad Nushi, the secretary of information; Lawyer Mahmud al-Miliji, the secretary of organization; Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi, the party's assistant secretary; Artist Hamdi Ahmad and Ahmad al-Faqi, member of the party's Parliamentary Committee.

Dr Salah 'Abd-al-Mun'im, the party's secretary in al-Daqahliyah, opened the conference with an address in which he declared the party membership in the governorate has reached 50,000 members.

Mahmud al-Miliji then asserted that the party has undertaken to defend liberties regardless of the pressures.

Muhammad Abu-al-Husayn Ghali, the party secretary in al-Jamaliyah, al-Daqahliyah Governorate, then welcomed Engineer Ibrahim Shukri.

Mahmud Abu-Sanah read a poem greeting the party and then Fawzi Musa al-Dib from Sanbalawin, Nabil 'Atif, the party secretary in Aja and Dr 'Atif Zaghlul, the party secretary in al-Sharqiyah, welcomed the party chairman.

#### Art and Politics

Artist Hamdi Ahmad then spoke about the relationship of art to politics, saying that art reflects politics in aesthetic means.

Fu'ad Nushi declared that the draft law of shame must not pass, saying: If they want to try those who deviate from our society's values, then let them first try those who rigged up the People's Assembly elections.

#### Parliamentary Committee Rejects

'Abd-al-Mun'im al-Tunisi, the party secretary in Manfalut, discussed the attack perpetrated on the party pavilion in Asyut and said that all the people of Asyut have expressed their resentment over what happened.

Dr Hilmi al-Hadidi then took the floor, asserting that the members of the party's Parliamentary Committee will reject the draft law of shame and will always continue to defend democracy.

Engineer Ibrahim Shukri then distributed 20 awards consisting of cultural and scientific books to outstanding students in the fortification [al-taqwiyah] classes supervised by the Professionals Secretariat of the party's Steering Committee in the governorate.

#### Independence of Unionist Movement From Parties

Sa'd Muhammad Ahmad, chairman of the General Federation of Workers Unions, has asserted that the Egyptian unionist movement is independent of the political parties.

He said: We will not permit fragmentation of the unionist movement among the political parties, regardless of whether they are the majority party or the opposition parties.

He stressed this in the ceremony held in honor of Ahmad al-Sawi, the workers secretary in the National Party. The ceremony was attended by 'Abd-al-Latif Bultiyah, the National Party's assistant secretary.

This declaration by the federation chairman came in reply to an address delivered by a People's Assembly member from the majority party.

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CSO: 4802

**PUBLIC FIGURES EXPRESS VIEWS ON LAW OF SHAME**

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 5 Feb 80 pp 8, 9, 10 & 15

[Article by Mary Ya'qub, Mayisah Ahmad, 'Ali 'Uthman and Muhammad Karim Mahmud: "Draft Law of Shame: Why, for Whom and Where to; Abolition of May Revolution Glories and Articles of 1971 Constitution; Duality in Three Authorities of State; Encroachment Upon Ordinary Judiciary; Bill's Articles Are Indeterminate and Its Phrases Elastic"]

[Text] Engineer Ibrahim Shukri, the Socialist Labor Party chairman, last week invited the Lawyers Union, the Journalists Union and all the citizens to take part in discussing the socialist prosecutor bill. Last week, we presented the opinion of the journalist doyen, the position of the Lawyers Union and an article by Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad.

We present in this edition another article by Dr Muhammad Hilmi Murad, an article by Dr Muhammad 'Asfur and the opinions of intellectuals, pioneers of thought, law, journalism and politics and party chairmen. All are taking part in [discussing] this law at the invitation of the Socialist Labor Party chairman for a broad dialogue.

Are we in need of more laws to regulate our life affairs? Is the mere promulgation of a law enough to deter contraveners? Can ethical and human behavior be governed by definite laws, keeping in mind that ethical and human behavior is ever-developing and rejuvenated?

Moreover, don't we have a constitution issued in 1971 and don't we have a penal code?

These are questions that occur to the mind while we hear about the promulgation of the so-called "law of shame" which is proposed to be presented to the People's Assembly to express its opinion on it.

We are not against safeguarding society and protecting it against the manifestations of deviation and laxity and we are not against whatever is liable to regulate any unfamiliar aspects deviating from the values and ethics our people have inherited throughout thousands of years. Rather, we support and defend all this.

But we are against the restriction of liberties, against the special measures and against a return to the era preceding the 23 July revolution and the era preceding the 15 May revolution that has ended the detention camps forever, has released liberties and has laid down the principle of the supremacy of the law so that the Egyptian citizen may regain his true character as the maker of glorious accomplishments and victories on his land.

What do our thinkers, writers, legists, party leaders and unionist leaders say on the so-called "draft law of shame?"

Mustafa Amin: I Do not Approve of Law of Shame

Mustafa Amin says: I do not approve the draft law of shame because it is in violation of the 15 May revolution. I will express my opinion in [the column] "Idea."

Dr Louis 'Awad: Politics for Politicians

Dr Louis 'Awad says: This is a political issue essentially and I like to leave politics for the politicians. If there is a cultural topic, I can speak on it.

Najib Mahfuz: No Justification for It

Literary author Najib Mahfuz says: I expected the "law of shame" to be new in its topics and contents. But I have noticed that it covers such crimes as tax evasion and embezzlement of public monies which, naturally, are covered by and have their penalties in the general penal code which serves the public interest. Since the word "shame" covers every violation of the law, these crimes are shameful. I do not understand the designation of some other crimes as not shameful.

In my view, such a law has no justification, unless the new issue it deals with is not covered by the general penal code and can be considered shameful in terms of taste, traditions or inherited ethics.

However, dealing with such an issue in a law and setting up penalties for it is something serious that can threaten society's development because whatever pertains to taste, observed traditions and general ethics is liable to develop and the sentence on such things belongs to criticism and not to penalties.

It is feared that if penalties are laid down for such issues, they will lead to the suppression of thought and of rejuvenation and to the freezing of cultural development. This is my view as a thinker, a writer and a citizen.



## Zaki Najib Mahmud: Consciences Are Court of Ethics

Dr Zaki Najib Mahmud says: There are two kinds of laws that regulate man's life. One is the "positional law" in accordance with which the courts function. But in addition to this law, there are the moral laws and their court is in the consciences of people. But it so often happens that a law or a number of laws move from the sphere of the court of the conscience to the other sphere when conditions arise requiring that man not be left to his conscience alone and when it becomes necessary to add to the internal conscience an external social conscience. This is exactly what we mean by the laws of shame. These laws were left to the "individual's conscience" but when we found that some of us have no shame and do not appreciate the homeland's crises, we deemed it fit to transfer this bunch of laws or rules of conduct and to put them under the supervision of the external conscience and not just the private conscience. I believe nothing but good will emanate from this.

## Dr Yusuf Idris: I am Against This Law

Dr Yusuf Idris says: I am against this law because it almost replaces the articles of the constitution and interferes with the liberties guaranteed to the citizens by the 1971 constitution to the degree where it turns the citizen's rights into mere ink on paper. This law must be fully examined and debated because its approval means abolition of the 15 May revolution and a return to the dictatorial method of rule. This is something which, I believe, neither the government nor the leader President Anwar al-Sadat wants.

## Khalid Muhyi-al-Din: It Destroys Glories of 15 May

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din, rapporteur of the Progressive Unionist Party, points out that the regime arising after 15 May has built its propaganda and its glories on the grounds that it eliminated the detention camps and the custodianship. But with this bill, this regime is destroying completely the essence of these glories and claims. It is reestablishing custodianship, the confiscation of property, detention and restricted residence. The regime is giving the socialist prosecutor the power to impose most of these penalties even before he brings the defendant before the courts.

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din has also said: These three aspects are the most serious thing in this bill: The bill has resorted to "elastic and flexible charges" that are fully covered by the general law with the aim of evading the legal investigation and interrogation acknowledged by the Egyptian judiciary and in accordance with which convictions are issued for acts considered criminal by the provisions of the laws. In the case of this bill, it will not investigate legal facts violating the law but will resort to the defendant's political position and his opinions and establish the charge and the sentence on the basis of this position and these opinions.

This is where the phrase "political investigation" which is in violation of "legal investigation" has emerged. The law knows no such a thing as political investigation but knows something called legal investigation of political issues. In all countries of the world, political issues are given stronger guarantees than ordinary issues because the defendant is facing the state and the ruling regime. This is why all guarantees are given to insure the legality of the investigation, its abidance by the provisions of a definite law and its referral to the courts governed by the ordinary law.

Here is what the text of article 68 of the 1971 constitution says: "Litigation is a secure right guaranteed to all people. Every citizen has the right to resort to his ordinary judge."

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din added: Here we come to the second point in this serious bill, namely the point of the "ordinary judge." In this bill, we find that the defendant is referred to a court formed not from the courts [sic] stipulated by the Egyptian judiciary system but a court formed in its majority from non-judiciary elements--'four People's Assembly members and three counselors of the Appellate Court." The decisions of this court are issued by majority. We know from the structure of the People's Assembly that most of the members will be from the ruling party. Consequently, the sentences will be known in advance.

Khalid Muhyi-al-Din further said: This court will be formed to eliminate the opponents of the majority party and those opposed to the government policy. Not only this, this law will also reach the country's thinkers and intellectuals. This bill debases the judiciary authority because it has resorted to a court not included in the judiciary authority's system.

The third point in this bill is connected with the sentences to be issued by this court. All of these sentences prejudice the natural human rights acknowledged by the international charters, the Islamic Shari'a, the constitution and by all human values. Denying the citizen his political eligibility for no crime and without a sentence from the judiciary authority, denying this citizen his civilian eligibility, preventing him from leaving the country, forcing him to reside in a certain place or denying him residence in a certain place are all acts that violate article 50 of the constitution.

In my view, all this constitutes an attack on democracy and on the Egyptian citizen. It is also my opinion that whoever has participated in drafting this bill and whoever will take part in promulgating, approving or enforcing it "is condemned in our people's history" and will be brought to make a hard account.

Mustafa Kamil Murad: Formation of Values Court Violates Constitution

Mustafa Kamil Murad, chairman of the Socialist Liberal Party, says: We cannot express the party's full viewpoint before publication of the bill's

official text and its explanatory supplements so that they may be discussed by the party's Legislative Committee, its Secretariat and its Political Bureau in order that the party's view contain its official opinion on this law.

The Liberal Party chairman adds: But on the basis of the party's program which underlines the political liberties, the supremacy of the law and the right of every citizen to resort to his ordinary judge, we believe that most of the crimes covered by the bill, if not all of them, have been covered by the general law, especially the penal code and the law of penalties. We also believe that the ordinary courts can try these crimes without the need for the values court. Moreover, the public prosecution can investigate and bring to court whoever violates the law, without the need for the socialist prosecutor whose position we, as a party, demand be abolished.

Mustafa Kamil Murad notes that formation of the values court of some People's Assembly members and appellate counselors violates the constitutional principle and our principle as a party regarding the need to separate the three authorities because this formation entrusts judiciary actions to non-judiciary elements.

Mustafa Murad also says: We are not in favor of the principle of denying the citizen his political rights, restricting his residence, preventing him from leaving the country or confiscating his property--all of which are stipulated by the draft law of shame--without a judiciary sentence. Moreover, what has been said about the sentence of the values court being final and not subject to appeal is considered a violation of the general legal principles. The sentence of any court should, in accordance with these principles, be subject to appeal before a judiciary authority.

Concluding his statements, the Liberal Party chairman says: There are no extraordinary circumstances at present requiring the promulgation of such a law, especially in view of the termination of the state of war. This requires abolition of all the martial laws and extraordinary measures, not adding to them.

'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Shurbaji: Special Legislations Have Fallen

'Abd-al-'Aziz al-Shurbaji, a former lawyers doyen, says: What an unerring teacher history is! Those who have made mistakes since the early dawn of mankind are people. But whoever understands the lessons of history finds that history has always given the lesson and then departed to give people the opportunity to ponder and to believe or disbelieve.

Events, those in the distant past and those with which these days are abounding, are tied to each other. Nearly half a century ago, somebody called in the Egyptian National Assembly for putting restrictions on the press. The assembly turned him down and the special legislations with

which they wanted to shackle the free Egyptian press fell. This evil idea was renewed again and again and every time it has been defeated.

I believe that the new law is about to ensnare Egypt with the projection of an idea that wants not only to shackle the press but also to restrict the liberties of all people.

I believe firmly that the gentlemen members of the present People's Assembly will defend Egypt's liberties and reject this legislation so that Egypt may resume its previous march.

Dr 'Atif al-Banna, the professor of constitutional law at the Cairo Law College, said: If we do not want to conduct a political trial for what the government may view as instigation and casting doubts, then the way to deal with all this lies in presenting all the facts to the people and providing them with the correct details--with the participation of the opposition on the one hand and in tackling quickly the aspects of failure and negligence exposed by criticism on the other hand.

Dr al-Banna believes that there is no alternative to dealing with our affairs in a democratic way, especially since Egypt has been afflicted with catastrophes, tribulations and setbacks in the absence of democracy during a previous period.

A trend toward political freedom and toward recognizing the opposition started in the mid-1970's. There is no doubt that the law of shame will actually destroy all this. There is also the fear of grave consequences and of a major failure if the endeavors for multiplicity in political organization and thought are foiled.

Legal Counselor Husayn 'Amir says that the projected law of shame is indeterminate and loose and can be applied to any charge. As we have learned from incrimination studies, we find that bringing somebody to account for a charge must be done through a definite and clear law.

I believe that the law of shame needs precise provisions to explain it in order that all crimes for all sorts of things may not be included under it. If this law were formulated in a good, clear, definite and frank manner, it would be possible to apply it without its posing a threat to society but rather as a source of security for society.

When Dr Jamal al-'Utayfi, the former minister of information, was asked about the bill, he said: I have not yet formed a complete opinion on this bill. I will wait until I study it thoroughly and then give a full opinion.

#### Its Constitutionality Is Questionable and It Prejudices Democracy

Dr Zaki Hashim, a lawyer and a former minister, says: I believe that the creation of a law to safeguard values or the so-called law of shame, is



a measure that we do not need. The legislations currently in force contain guarantees sufficient to safeguard the genuine values of the Egyptian society. The proposed law is indeterminate, its constitutionality is questionable and it prejudices the principles of sound democracy.

Muhammad Fahim, a lawyer and a member of the Lawyers Union Council: The elastic phrases contained in articles 2 and 3 of the bill on safeguarding the values of the Egyptian family's genuine traditions make the Egyptian citizen liable to prosecution any time the ruling authorities wish to prosecute him. Moreover, the phrase "undermining the prestige of the state and of its constitutional institutions" which is included in the bill's provisions makes anybody who opposes any form of deviation that he encounters subject to punishment in accordance with the provisions of this bill.

The phrases included in article 9 of the bill have nothing like them in the most dictatorial countries. The matter is not confined to denial of right to nomination to unionist organizations and councils, cooperative associations, joint-stock firms, press establishments, clubs and other organizations or denial of the right to form parties or to participate in their membership. The penalties extend to include banning a person from engaging or working in the free professions and from leaving the country. The penalties go still further to codify arrest and to impose restricted residence and, finally, to prohibit disposing of all or part of a person's property.

All these are penalties that take us back to the days of the inquisition courts and to the method of imposing custodianship.

Muhammad Fahim went on to say: There is another thing in this more than serious bill, namely the right of the socialist prosecutor to object to nomination to the elections of popular organizations or establishments. Such an objection is considered a decision on the prosecutor's part to exclude the name of a candidate from the election lists. This is a decision by which the nominating party has to abide (article 28). Appeals against such objection are to be made to the values court which will be comprised of seven members, four from the People's Assembly and three counselors of the Appellate Court. Thus, the majority in the values court, which is to decide on the appeals and which is also to try the citizens for the crimes stipulated in this bill, will consist of People's Assembly members, i.e. ruling party members. The ruling party will thus try its opponents under the name of the values court and will issue its against them sentences that cannot be appealed through any channels (articles 28 and 56).

The Lawyers Union member has appealed to the People's Assembly members with these words: It is shameful for the People's Assembly members to promulgate such a law. They must know that history has no mercy. The law to safeguard values which will be presented to them is in violation of all values.

'Abd-al-'Aziz Muhammad, member of the People's Assembly and of a subsidiary council of the Lawyers Union and rapporteur of the union's Legislative Committee, has said: On the morning of the 27th of last January, the Legislative Committee met to discuss the law of shame after we had obtained a copy of the law's provisions before they were published. From discussing its provisions, it became evident that the law codifies new restrictions that pose a danger to the public rights and liberties of the Egyptian citizen and that the law turns these restrictions into permanent rules needlessly and unjustifiably. The new bill has listed all aspects of the citizen's public activities and has sought to keep the citizen under surveillance and to pursue him in a comprehensive manner. Moreover, the bill has used elastic and imprecise phrases and vague notions so that they may accomodate whatever the government wants to do any time it wants to do it.

'Abd-al-'Aziz Muhammad has added: The bill refers to the "genuine traditions of the Egyptian family's society" and uses this phrase in this manner, without any definition. This gives the government the opportunity to conclude whatever it wishes from these genuine traditions to justify whatever it wants.

He has also pointed out that the bill uses indeterminate phrases such as "opposing the state systems, hating the state and despising it." These phrases can be used to suppress any criticism or any opposed view that rises in the face of policies, plans and actions that are subject to interpretation by their very nature.

'Abd-al-'Aziz Muhammad has further said: The bill refers to the incrimination of false reports and statements. This is understood. However, the bill adds to this the ambiguous phrase of "tendentious reports and statements." We don't know who will examine the statements to disclose their purpose.

Muhammad also said: The bill incriminates acts undermining the prestige of the state and of its constitutional institutions. Meanwhile, it does not explain the way to permissible criticism of a policy formulated by the government or by one of its agencies. Moreover, the bill fails to explain the situation insofar as criticizing a legislation or overturning or appealing sentences is concerned. In accordance with this provision, the bill considers all these actions a form of undermining the prestige of the state and of its constitutional institutions. Moreover, the bill contains the strange so-called provision of "disguising behind an organization." What is meant by disguising and what are the forms of this disguising?

Concluding his statements, 'Abd-al-'Aziz Muhammad said: It is obvious from all this that the bill has intentionally included these flexible and elastic phrases in order to be able to hunt down every opinion whose holder the state sees fit to pursue without any controls or shackles. This poses a grave danger to the public liberties and rights stipulated

by the constitution. It is the responsibility of the thinkers and of the people with conscience, by virtue of their historical responsibility in this period, to oppose the bill and to obstruct its promulgation.

#### **We Don't Need Legislation**

Salah-al-Din 'Atiyah, chairman of the Socialist Labor Party's Working Forces Committee, has said that the draft law of shame which AL-AHRAM has published is rejected in form and content for a simple logical reason, namely that we have enough legislations to protect our domestic front and our country's system of government in which we believe and whose sons we truly consider ourselves. 'Atiyah added: On every occasion, we say that we are the sons of ancient people whose roots extend 7,000 years into history and that we are people who have had throughout this long history civilizations, morals, values and sublime ideals that distinguish us from other peoples in the world generally and from the peoples in the Arab area in particular. It is my opinion that these people are not in need of a legislation to teach them how to be polite or how to deal with each other and with the rulers whom they select. In other words, these people are not in need of the law to teach them what is "shameful" and what is "not shameful."

It is also my opinion that we need a good and virtuous example--an example that does not disgrace others and that does not remain silent on falsehood so that morals may not be corrupted and society's values may not be ruined and lost.

Salah-al-Din 'Atiyah pointed out that we cannot legislate or issue legislation through which some people can control the actions of others in a manner that violates completely the simplest rules of man's liberties and rights.

#### **Constitution Is Father of Laws**

Muhammad Fahmi Badr, member of the Executive Council of the General Federation of Workers Unions and deputy chairman of the General Union of Industry and Lumber Workers, has asserted that the constitution contains articles that regulate all aspects of the political, economic and social life of Egypt and that it has not disregarded any of the aspects that influence life. This is why we always say that the constitution is the father of laws.

Badr has questioned the importance of a law of values or of shame when there are laws that can be applied to incriminate any action or deed by an individual or a group violating these laws.

Aren't the various specialized branches of the judiciary enough to deter any violation of these laws? Moreover, I do not imagine that there is a shameful act that these laws have neglected and that requires a special law under any name. I believe that such a law will be comprehensive and

will not permit each violation to be presented to the court concerned and the normal judge concerned.

As for what has been said in this law regarding the penalty of denial of the political and unionist rights, I do not agree with it. It is my view that each establishment has the right to lay down a charter of honor that subjects every member belonging to this establishment to the penalties stipulated by this charter in case it is violated. This approach guarantees that a member is denied the exercise of his rights by the establishment to which he belongs.

Muhammad Fahmi Badr has further added: If we accept, for the sake of argument, the promulgation of a law of shame or of ethics, then its provisions must be applied by a judiciary authority in a manner compatible with the judiciary's independence so that there may be no overlapping of powers. If we also assume, for the sake of argument, that there will be a political element in the court that will consider violations of the law of shame, then this element must represent all the political parties now that we have abolished the one-party system so that the neutrality of the political system may be guaranteed, provided that at least a majority of two thirds the court is given to the judiciary.

Applying Law of Shame to Chat on Nile or in Miramar

Jamal al-Chaytani, a young literary figure, has said: What surprises me is that this law is to be promulgated when we are approaching the year 2000. This law denies the artist the freedom of creativity because the artist is always seeking what is better and is, therefore, constantly opposed to the conditions under which he is living, especially if the conditions run counter to his freedom. With the promulgation of this law, this freedom will become a sight for the entire world to behold. How can such a law be issued in a civilized and developed society? The law reminds me of the "Spanish inquisition courts" which placed the art within a framework under which the artist could be questioned. This law can charge an artist with crime for a painting or a suggestive caricature. If I were to give you an example, I would say that "Gossip on the Nile" and "Miramar"--two novels by Najib Mahfuz--contain a part of the 1967 setback, and so do the stories of the generation of the 1960's. Under this law that confiscates the right of creativity, how can a writer express what he wants? I urge our literary figures who have stated their opinions on many issues to state their opinions clearly on this law that is no less serious than any intellectual or literary issue.

We Don't Know Its Source

Muhammad 'Abd-al-Hakam, a chief prosecuting attorney at the Socialist Public Prosecutor Office, has said: We don't know the source of what has been published in AL-AHRAM on the law of shame. However, it is not this office.



Answering our question on his opinion regarding the law, he said: Opinion on this issue can only be formulated through application. This means that only after the law has been applied it will become apparent whether there are in it aspects that require to be amended or not. At present, the law has not gone through the phases of legislative birth yet. Therefore, it is premature to talk about it.

#### Dying Alive

Counselor Mustafa Za'zu', the public prosecutor, has said that this law subjects the individual to a serious restriction of freedom. Dismissing a person from his job, preventing him from leaving the country for 5 years, impounding his property and then preventing him from exercising his political rights means burying such a person alive.

Counselor 'Izzat al-Sayyid, the deputy socialist public prosecutor, joined the dialogue to say that the law did not emerge from the Socialist Prosecutor's Office. We don't know yet who has issued it. In any case, all of the articles of this law and most of its provisions are actually present in the constitution (penal code) under various provisions. Naturally, this law will result in duality or in amending the previous provisions.

Commenting on these words, counselor Mustafa Za'zu' said: This law will actually result in duality, considering that the penal code contains a paragraph that stipulates the death sentence for whoever brings in, cultivates or trades in drugs.

#### Counselor Muntaz Nassar: Blocking All Windows of Freedom

Counselor Muntaz Nassar, a People's Assembly member, has said: When I addressed the People's Assembly in the reply to the government statement, I demanded termination of the state of emergency in accordance with the constitution because of the disappearance of the reason for the declaration of this state and I said that the relations between the ruler and the Egyptians must be normalized before normalization of the relations with the Israeli enemy that has been hostile to us for 30 years.

Our goal was to enable all the citizens to enjoy their right to resort to their ordinary judge in accordance with the constitution. But the majority party has wished to codify the state of emergency permanently with a law that suppresses the citizens' liberties and rights more severely. Whoever reads this bill will find out that it blocks all the windows of freedom in Egypt and that every citizen in this country is liable to fall under the jurisdiction of this law which destroys the citizens' rights and harms democracy gravely.

Muntaz Nassar has added: I reject this bill in terms of both form and content and I urge the majority party to stop following this course. The penal code contains enough to make it unnecessary to innovate such legislations. Moreover, resorting to the ordinary judge is necessary to protect

the citizens' security and to provide them with stability. This is something required by article 68 of the constitution.

#### Counselor Yahya al-Rifa'i: Keeping Judges Out of Politics

Counselor Yahya al-Rifa'i, secretary of the Judges Club, has said that the inclinations of the draft law of shame are incompatible with President al-Sadat's declaration at the Judges Club about doing away with custodianship, avoiding duality and keeping judges out of politics.

Regardless of the various characteristics causing the bill to be flawed, such as the lack of definiteness which may be misinterpreted in application and resulting from the flexible and loose phrasing of the bill, and regardless of the constitutional and other legislative violations in the provisions of the bill, the bill entrusts the power to impose the penalties and measures proposed by it to an authority other than the judiciary authority and the legislative authority.

It is obvious that the political majority [in the values court] does not enjoy the immunities, guarantees or neutrality of the judges and the participation of this majority with normal judges is a shameful intervention in issuing the sentences on the cases involved. Moreover, the political elements will impose the sentence dictated by their partisan affiliation.

Counselor Yahya al-Rifa'i added: The judges refuse to participate in any manner in these and similar courts. The presence of a single individual who is not a judge in the structure of a court comprised of seven members corrupts the atmosphere of deliberation and is considered an intervention in the function of the judiciary and in the cases. Such intervention is prohibited by the text of the constitution. How can the judges deliberate matters with other people who are not judges?

Counselor Yahya al-Rifa'i further said: The judges reject the bill's inclination to normalize the special conditions covered by the emergency law, i.e. they reject imposing these conditions on the people permanently.

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CSO: 4802

ARTICLE SAYS SOCIALIST PROSECUTOR, LAST VESTIGE OF SOCIALISM, UNNECESSARY

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 5 Feb 80 p 14

[Article by 'Abd-al-Mughni Sa'id: "Only Socialist Prosecutor Remains of Socialism"]

[Text] Socialist application in Egypt was frozen with the suspension of the national charter and when the charter and the 30 March 1968 declaration came to be considered of no significance, having exhausted their purposes and being out of place after declaration of the open-door policy in 1973 and the fundamental change it created in our economic course!

We wish matters stopped at freezing the socialist application. The fact is that they have gone beyond with our rush to cut short the socialist lines and to open the door wide for the open capitalist retrogression under the pretext of eliminating obstacles in the face of foreign capital's participation in the development projects, of encouraging private activity after it had diminished and almost stopped completely and, generally, under the pretext of giving free rein to the profit incentive. Moreover, there is no longer any limit to profits as long as they are made legally and as long as the profit makers pay the taxes they owe the state.

The charter confined importation to the public sector and now we have opened the door wide for the private sector to import whatever it wishes without restrictions or controls. It is alright if free importation threatens the Egyptian industry's future! It is alright if free importation leads to the predominance of imports of consumer and luxury commodities! It is alright if the kings of importation and exportation make astronomical profits and evade taxes. It is alright if they thus create a flaw in the social balance and if they widen and deepen the gaps between the classes instead of "melting the differences" between these classes--this being one of our most prominent socialist slogans in the past!

We have permitted the individual to own more than 50 feddans and more than 100 feddans of reclaimed lands or lands prepared for reclamation, not to say that we have turned a blind eye to owning more than the maximum allowed by the agrarian reform laws insofar as ownership of old lands is concerned.

We have also allowed the construction of condominium buildings ['imarat al-tamlik] to monopolize the market and to almost wipe out the construction of rental apartments. There is nothing to deter the owner of a building from keeping it unoccupied for years while waiting to get the highest price for the sale of his condominium apartments at a time when it is almost impossible for the citizen to get a rental apartment or even to buy an apartment at a reasonable price and for easy and affordable installments!

These are some examples of what has happened under the canopy of the open-door policy, of encouraging private activity and of releasing the profit incentives. Tell me, for God's sake, what has remained of socialism, especially since the private sector companies fit more into the framework of the state capitalism than to the framework of socialism and since they raise the prices of their products from time to time to participate in increasing the public revenues?

Only the memory of socialism remains. Even the National Party--like the national press--has changed its name from Egypt's Arab Socialist Party to the Democratic National Party.

The title of "socialist prosecutor" is, God be thanked, the only remaining vestige of socialism. However, the survival of the socialist prosecutor is no longer significant now that socialism has receded from the land of Egypt. In any case, there seems to be evident eagerness to retain the socialist prosecutor as a political investigation authority with the powers of investigation belonging to the ordinary judiciary. The socialist prosecutor possesses, as Ibrahim Shukri pointed out to us in his article published on the 22nd of last January, the power to deprive any citizen of his political rights and to ban him from candidacy for the elections of popular councils, elected unions and so forth--not to mention the other extraordinary rules codified by the socialist prosecutor law. What is more serious is that the socialist prosecutor will be given the power to carry out searches and to make arrests on permission from the values court which is scheduled to be formed of a number of judges and a number of People's Assembly members. Such a structure is unacceptable in itself because it mingles the judiciary authority with the legislative authority, thus violating the constitutional values. Despite this, it is proposed that this odd court be called the values court!

Public opinion is the judge insofar as anything pertaining to moral values is concerned. Public opinion is what approves good deeds and rejects abominations "and let you be a nation that calls for good deeds and proscribes abomination." God is truthful.

This is the judge and the guarantee in the society of Islam, the society of consultation, the society of self-sufficiency and justice and the society of love and peace.



The socialist prosecutor and the values court constitute an exposed means to revive and codify the extraordinary laws [al-istithna'] in the name of the constitution and of moral values. Every free Egyptian who is proud of his freedom and eager to protect it must rise to obstruct this means, especially since we are--in the wake of the establishment of peace and of the normalization of relations with Israel--required to abolish the martial rules and to liquidate the extraordinary laws immediately and completely.

With the presence of the public prosecutor, the socialist prosecutor's position is a novelty. There is no doubt that this position creates unjustifiable duality with the task of the public prosecutor whose jurisdiction covers the political cases and the public opinion cases generally.

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CSO: 4802

EDITORIAL URGES RULING PARTY TO CHANGE STANCE ON LAW OF SHAME

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 12 Feb 80 p 1

[Editorial by Hamid Zaydan: "Ruling Party Puts Itself on Trial"]

[Text] The statement made by Vice President Husni Mubarak on the law of shame has aroused deep interest among all the citizens, both those who are in the ruling party and those in the opposition.

This important statement could have made all of us happy and could have reassured us had the vice president said that it had been decided to withdraw these studies [not further specified] out of contentment with the public laws in force, with the ordinary trials and with the normal judge.

We have read the vice president's statement very carefully. This statement has evoked a quick debate in the Socialist Labor Party as to whether to consider the statement a new position by the ruling party or the same position taken by this party when it started to draft the law of shame and of the values court. After a quick debate, all asserted their adherence to several fundamental principles that must be stated clearly in a new position by the ruling party vis-a-vis the law of shame and of the values court.

There is a fundamental issue, namely: Should there be or shouldn't there be democracy, should there be or shouldn't there be right of criticism, freedom of expression and of belief and the right to express opinion in full freedom within the bounds of the law and of the constitution, should there be or shouldn't there be independence and neutrality of the judiciary, separation of the three authorities and should or shouldn't the powers of these authorities overlap?

The ruling party's position toward this fundamental issue in its bill of shame and of the values court is what determines our position toward this party. Freedom is indivisible and this fundamental issue is not intended to be used in the interest of the currently ruling party so that it may bring its opponents to trial with it. Within the framework of democracy, history has taught us that laws are not laid down in the interest of a

particular party because such a party is in power and against other parties because they are in the opposition. The wheel always turns, the cycle of political life is endless and there comes a day when somebody from the opposition assumes power and when those in power move to the opposition lines. On such a day, it is as if the ruling party will put itself on trial for what it has done.

This is why we oppose and reject the bill.

This is also why our newspaper will continue to present this bill for a broad debate so that we may all stand in one straight line before the law.

#### Political Words

While reserving my complete abidance by the Socialist Labor Party's stance of opposition to the normalization of relations before achieving full Israeli withdrawal from all the national soil, I greet AL-AHRAM's initiative and the journalistic scoop made by colleague Makram Muhammad Ahmad, the managing editor of AL-AHRAM, through his exclusive interview with Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin.

The method of journalistic dialogue with all parties is a method acknowledged by the entire world. Around the table of journalistic dialogue, many doors closed to the official negotiations table are opened.

This is my opinion insofar as the form is concerned. Insofar as the content is concerned, I reserve my right to debate Makram's reportage from Israel after all parts of the series are published so that I may not debate them part by part.

One thing that has not pleased me in the statement that Maj Gen Muhammad Nabawi Isma'il, the minister of interior and the assistant secretary general of the ruling National Party, has made to the People's Assembly is what he has said about the violations committed by the opposition at times--a part of the statement made without any definition.

This part has brought several questions to my mind: What are these violations, what is the extent of these violations and who defines their dimensions?

Is it the minister of interior, for example, who makes the determination? Is it, for example, the assistant secretary general of the ruling party?

Does the description of the violations which the minister mentioned in his statement to the People's Assembly also apply to these questions? Will somebody answer?

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CSO: 4802

LAWYERS UNION DEMANDS ABANDONMENT OF LAW OF SHAME

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 12 Feb 80 p 1

[Article: "Lawyers Union Demands Abandonment of Law of Shame and Abolition of Socialist Prosecutor Position"]

[Text] The Lawyers Union Council has issued a statement on the bill to safeguard values against acts of shame. The statement reaffirms the decision taken by the council in its session of 22 January 1980 and rejects the bill for the following considerations:

1. The bill seeks to codify the extraordinary rules [al-istithna'] by transforming the extraordinary temporary measures and steps into permanent measures and steps and by making them a part of the normal legal system.
2. The bill opens the door wide for pursuing the other opinion, for stifling the freedom of belief, for confiscating the freedom of opinion and of expression and for preventing the emergence of the other opinion--the mainstay and symbol of democracy. All of this poses the threat of a return to the principle of the single political organization, but in a different form.
3. The provisions of the bill are unique in terms of determining the incriminating act, the stipulated penalty and the authority entrusted with investigation and trial.

The union has urged all the constitutional, political and popular establishments and all the officials to join their voices to that of the Lawyers Union to demand the following:

First, abandonment of the bill to safeguard values against acts of shame.

Second, amendment of the constitution to abolish the socialist public prosecutor's position.

Third, abolition of the state of emergency, of all the extraordinary legislations restricting freedom and the extraordinary courts.



Fourth, releasing the freedom of forming political parties without restrictions, conditions or measures.

Fifth, releasing the freedom of the press and of the information media and the freedom of publishing and owning papers.

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CSO: 4802

EGYPT

HUMAN RIGHTS GROUPS URGE AL-SADAT TO OBSTRUCT LAW OF SHAME

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 12 Feb 80 pp 1, 11

[Article: "Supporters of Human Rights Association Urges President al-Sadat to Intervene to Stop Law of Shame"]

[Text] Ambassador Muhammad 'Abd-al-Shafi al-Labban, chairman of the Supporters of the Human Rights Association, has cabled the association's opinion on the law of shame to President Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat.

Lawyer Ibrahim Tal'at, chairman of the Alexandria Supporters of Human Rights Association, has also cabled President al-Sadat asking him to intervene to stop the law of shame.

Following is the text of the cable sent by Ambassador Muhammad 'Abd-al-Shafi al-Labban:

In the session it held today, the Executive Council of the Supporters of Human Rights Association discussed the bill to safeguard values against acts of shame and concluded that many of the provisions of this bill are incompatible with the international declaration of human rights, with the international charters connected with human rights and with the international charters pertaining to the fundamental rights and liberties. The council believes that the various organizations should be given a sufficient chance to study this serious bill carefully so as to avoid the prejudicing of rights and liberties that will arise from speeding up the bill's promulgation. The association will submit a study containing its opinion on the bill so that it may be available to the government and the People's Assembly.

Following is the text of the cable sent by Lawyer Ibrahim Tal'at:

His Excellency the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt:

Sincere greetings:

The Alexandria Supporters of Human Rights Association opposes the endeavor to issue a legislation under the name of the law of shame, recently

published in AL-AHRAM, or any alternative or similar law because such exceptional laws are against the human nature, violate the human rights stipulated by the Egyptian constitution and encroach on the Egyptian citizen's right to live, work and express and adopt the principles in which he believes and his right to belong to peaceful political and social parties, associations, groups and organizations. The association also opposes the creation of non-judiciary courts that deprive the judiciary of their constitutional powers and expose the citizens to extraordinary sentences ranging from imprisonment to death, not to mention the right of these courts and of the socialist prosecutor, who is a member of the ruling party, to arrest people, to confiscate their property and to prevent them from earning a living by preventing them from holding jobs or working in the professions and to sentence them to civilian death by denying them their right to exercise their political rights to run as candidates in the elections for parliamentary, local and other councils.

The association begs your excellency to intervene quickly in order to stop these forces that are trying to take us back to the age of the inquisition courts while we are nearing the end of the 20th century. Now that the state of war has ended, we also ask you to abolish all the extraordinary laws and to cancel the socialist public prosecutor's position so that the judiciary authority may regain its constitutional powers and the Egyptian citizen may regain his security and reassurance, thus establishing law and order.

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CNO: 4302

LABOR PARTY COLLOQUIUM DISCUSSES LAW OF SHAME, BREAD SITUATION

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 12 Feb 80 p 2

[Article: "Fit'at al-Shahawi: We Will not Permit Any Encroachment on People's Freedom; Fu'ad Nushi: We Want Clean Loaf of Bread and Sound Democratic Life; Rashad al-Shabrabkhumi: No to Codification of Dictatorship; 'Abd-al-Mughni Sa'id: Where Is Workers Federation's Stance Toward Law of Shame"]

[Text] Rif'at al-Shahawi, the Socialist Labor Party secretary general, has declared that the party will not permit any encroachment on the people's freedom. He has wondered: How can we discuss the law of shame when the people cannot find the loaf of bread and when they stand in lines to get a black loaf of bread?

The party's secretary general has also said: How can a law flouting man's rights and dignity be promulgated after 9 years of the correction movement? Is this law compatible with the referendum conducted a few months ago and containing a provision underlining the Egyptian citizen's rights?

Withdraw This Law

In the party's weekly colloquium, Rif'at al-Shahawi pointed out that the Egyptian people have supported the Camp David accords and that the Labor Party has also supported them, with some reservations. He said: We had hoped that the Arab Jerusalem, the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would be regained and that a Palestinian state would be established. What we are seeing now is something different, keeping in mind that only 3 months remain in the period set to realize the self-rule.

The party's secretary general wondered: Why do they want the law of shame at this time? Is it to muzzle the mouths so that the people may not talk of the normalization of relations, the rising prices and the disappearance of the loaf of bread? He said: We are ready to applaud them if they withdraw this law whose conscience we reflect [sic].



## President al-Sadat's Relinquishment of National Party's Chairmanship

Rif'at al-Shahawi pointed out that when President al-Sadat staged the May 1971 revolution, he opened the doors of the detention camps, liquidated the custodianship, abolished political isolation and established a democratic life out of his awareness that a ruler can enter history only through the gate of democracy for the people. It is time for President al-Sadat to relinquish his position as chairman of the Democratic National Party so that the people may learn the truth of those who belong to this party.

## We Want Clean Bread and Democratic Life

Fu'ad Nushi, the party's information secretary, had opened the colloquium with a word on the law of shame and the disappearance of the loaf of bread. He asserted that Egypt is bigger than to be accused of not knowing values or shame. He said: It is our right to demand a clean loaf of bread and a clean democratic life. He added: Whenever we think that the Democratic National Party has become certain that the establishment of a democratic life is inevitable, we are surprised by the counselors of evil presenting ideas for a new retrogression on the path of democracy.

## People Are not Deceived by Official Statements

Regarding the bread crisis, Fu'ad Nushi pointed out that some officials believe that they deceive the people with their official statements. The minister of supply addresses the People's Assembly and the information media remind us of another minister of supply under whom a similar crisis had developed. That minister brought white bread to the People's Assembly hall to tell the people that the bread situation was fine. The minister was deceiving only himself because the people know perfectly well the color of the bread they purchased. The People's Assembly members got enraged at the time and one of them lost his self-control, paying his membership as a prick.

Nushi added that Nassef Tahan is repeating the same tragedy and talking about the superb loaf of bread.

## No to Codification of Dictatorship

Mustafad al-Shabrahmani, member of the party's Executive Committee, took the floor to describe the law of shame as a stigma and to demand its withdrawal because it is in the interest of the ruler and of the people not to shake the liberties.

He said that President Anwar al-Sadat advocates democracy while some people in the National Party want to codify dictatorship. We tell these people: No.

#### Where is Opinion of Workers Federation on Law of Shame?

'Abd-al-Mughni Sa'id, a Labor Party member, spoke of the position of the Federation of Egyptian Workers toward the law of shame saying that this federation had taken an honorable position vis-a-vis the incidents of 18 and 19 January 1977. Where is its position today? He urged the various worker bases to demand that the federation adopt a position that reflects their opinion.

He also said that it is the right of the legislator to issue whatever legislation he wants, provided that he abstains from undermining the freedom of opinion which is guaranteed constitutionally for the thinkers, the information people and the citizens.

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CSO: 4802

# ACADEMICIANS, OTHERS CRITICIZE LAW OF SHAME

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 12 Feb 80 p 4

[Article: "How Can There Be Law of Shame in Society That Permits Abominations; God's Law Is not Under Mercy of Men; Should We Try Man for His Feelings"]

[Text] The discussion on "shame" which we started last week has not ended yet. The dialogue has more to go and people still have an opinion on this extremely significant and serious aspect concerning the codification of our life and the future of Egypt which has taken the first steps on the path of democracy with big hope. With democracy and with opinion and counter opinion, Egypt will have the dearest thing it hopes for as long as it turns its face forward, stands straight and lofty and keeps its head high and its conscience clear. So what do people say about the law of shame?

## Law of Shame in Society That Permits Abominations!

Shaykh Salah Abu-Isma'il, member of the People's Assembly, says that shame is something that every person concerned with high morals and sublime ideals must remember. But what are the controls of shame? In reply, Shaykh Abu-Isma'il says: We find that criteria based on reason, tradition and customs vary tremendously. In our religious traditions, nudity is considered, for example, shameful whereas in Sweden it is considered a tradition. Kissing in the middle of the road is acceptable in Disneyland in California, the United States. What is accepted in the Soviet Union is not permitted in our country.

Shaykh Abu-Isma'il concludes that there is no criterion more precise for measuring what is shameful than the criterion of God, may He be praised.

He has also said: I cannot at all understand a law issued to ban what is shameful in a society that permits abominations and deals with them and a society whose laws see no crime in them. We make and serve alcohol and this is shameful. We deal with and permit trading in alcohol. We permit hotels [sic] to deal in usury and our courts issue sentences on usury and this is

shameful. We show on both the big screen and the small screen materials that are considered pickaxes for destroying the morals of our young men and women and this is shameful. We violate God's restrictions that protect the five essentials, namely reason, religion, honor, property and life, and this is shameful.

#### God's Law Is not Under Mercy of Men

Concluding his opinion, Salah Abu-Isma'il has said: If we were a rightly guided society, we would not put God's law at the mercy of men's opinions. I will continue to speak openly about the vast difference between consultation in Islam which exerts active efforts on matters for which there is no provision and democracy which considers majority the decision maker, even if the decision comes violating God's book and His prophet's Sunna. Even if I will be the first victim of this law, I will not stop advocating God's law, permitting what this law has permitted, proscribing what this law proscribes and calling for establishing its restrictions. I acknowledge no criterion of shame other than God's criteria "and who is a better judge than God for people who believe."

#### How Can Man Be Tried for His Feelings?

Sayyid Rustum, a People's Assembly member from the Labor Party who represents the coast, has pointed out that most of the crimes stipulated by the draft law of shame come under the power of the ordinary laws and that citizens are tried for them before the ordinary courts. Therefore, there is no need for issuing such a law or forming such a court.

Sayyid Rustum has wondered: The law considers hating or despising the state systems a crime, so how can a man be punished for his feelings and sentiments?

Sayyid Rustum has further added: The power that the bill gives the socialist prosecutor enabling him to object to the nomination of candidates for the popular councils, the executive councils, the worker unions and other organizations is considered an intervention in the labor movement and a return to a system of which we complained when unionists were isolated from political action. The worker bases must elect their representatives with utter freedom. These bases are capable of dropping any leadership that they do not consider suitable.

#### People Will Reject This Law

Fu'ad Nushi, the Socialist Labor Party's information and propagation [al-da'wah] secretary, has said that the published provisions of the bill are elastic and their phrases are indeterminate, thus allowing the socialist prosecutor and values court law to be exploited according to the whims of those in power or those with a majority in the People's Assembly. This is considered retrogression from the path of democracy. Egypt has suffered



with some similar laws that contain vague descriptions of the so-called social or political crimes. The Egyptian people have been able to stop such legislations in their track. Of these legislations, I remember specifically the press legislations presented to the Chamber of Deputies in 1951 to restrict the freedom of the press and of opinion. When the Egyptian press, backed by the people, rose in rebellion against those legislations, they were withdrawn from the Chamber of Deputies.

Fu'ad Kushi has also pointed out that the penalties stipulated by the bill are exceptional penalties that have been implemented only in extraordinary periods of the history of peoples or at the outset of revolutions or coups, and this is something that Egypt has already rejected. President al-Sader has asserted that he rejects such a thing on the basis that [his era] is the era of legitimate revolutionism.

#### Law Violates Islamic Shari'a, Constitution and Human Rights Charter

Dr Yahya al-Jamal, the professor of civil law at the Cairo Law College and member of the Grouping Party's General Secretariat, has said: The law is extremely serious because its phrases are flexible and loose and are liable to interpretation and explanation. Even the title of the bill itself is indeterminate because values and shame are mere words. Even though the law contains provisions strange to the logic of legal legislation concerning the crime of high treason and other crimes, these provisions are rarely applied in the life of nations. However, the actually applicable provisions are the provisions concerning the vague acts with which the ordinary citizen can be charged, such as offending public decency, spreading hatred and malice against the regime and deviating from the values of the Egyptian family. All these are indeterminate matters that may not be the subject of legal prosecution and of serious penalties, such as political isolation, restriction of civilian eligibility, restriction of personal freedom, dismissal from job or the other penalties devised by this bill.

#### In Legal Life...Violation of Islamic Shari'a

Dr Yahya al-Jamal has added: This law violates the Islamic Shari'a, the constitution and the human rights charter. It also violates the general legal principles acknowledged in all countries, regardless of their social system. It violates the Islamic Shari'a because it violates comprehensive and fundamental rules in this Shari'a, such as "you have your religion and I have mine," and "call to the path of your God with wisdom and with good words" and "you shall not dominate them." Moreover, the proposed bill permits imposing custodianship on the individual and prevents him from disposing of or managing his property. The bill even permits impounding this property for reasons connected with difference of opinion, i.e. for political reasons. In the Islamic Shari'a, it is unpermissible to prevent a person from disposing of his money, unless he is incompetent or dominated

## Law of Shame Destroys Morals

Dr Mahmud Khayri 'Isa, dean of the Cairo University School of Economy and Political Science, has said: The fault that we find in the law of shame is that it weakens the democratic system of government which is based on the citizen's right to constructive criticism. The law of shame takes away this right and tries to narrow its limits as much as possible, ultimately leaving the citizen unable to engage in criticism which is one of his constitutional rights.

Dr Khayri 'Isa wonders: How can we imagine the issuance of a law to refine morals when morals are a matter of social organization and education and are thus beyond the bounds of the law which cannot control or govern them? What governs morals is society itself. A law which claims that it governs morals ends up destroying morals. Moreover, the penalties stipulated by this law are unprecedented in any democratic system in the entire world, and I can bet on this.

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CSO: 4802

JOURNALISTS REJECT LAW OF SHAME, PROTEST STATEMENT BY MINISTER OF INTERIOR

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 12 Feb 80 p 4

[Article: "Journalists Union Notifies People's Assembly of Its Rejection of Law of Shame, Protest Against Minister of Interior"]

[Text] The Journalists Union Council has notified the People's Assembly of the union's rejection of the draft law of shame. The Union Council has also conveyed to the Assembly its objection to the words and phrases used by the minister of interior when speaking at the People's Assembly about Egyptian journalists writing abroad--phrases that offend morals, personal life and modesty.

This was done at a meeting between Dr Sufi Abu-Talib, the People's Assembly speaker, and members of the Journalists Union Executive Council who were led by Kamil Zuhayri, the journalists doyen.

Mahmud Sami, the Union Council secretary, has stated that in the meeting which lasted 2.5 hours, the journalists doyen presented two fundamental issues to the Assembly speaker. The first was what has been published regarding the law of shame and the reasons for the Journalists Union Council's rejection of this bill and of the legislative method behind it. The doyen presented to the speaker a memorandum containing the Union Council's opinion on the bill and issued by the Council's meeting of last Wednesday with the unanimous approval of the members.

The second issue was the statement made by the minister of interior regarding the Egyptian journalists writing abroad. The journalists doyen conveyed to the People's Assembly speaker the objection of the Union Council members and of the journalists to some phrases and words in the minister's statement that offend morals, personal life and modesty. The doyen handed the speaker a message in the name of the union and asked the speaker that it be read in the Assembly and recorded in the minutes.

8494

CSO: 4802

ALEXANDRIA, DAMANHUR JUDGES OPPOSED TO LAW OF SHAME

Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 12 Feb 80 p 5

[Article: "General Assembly of Alexandria and Damanhur Judges Rejects Return to Method of Political Isolation, Imposition of Custodianship, Restriction of Residence, Arrest, Imposition of Custodianship on Unions or Denial of Any Citizen's Right of Work"]

[Text] The General Assembly of the Alexandria Judges Club met last Thursday in a special session to discuss the law to safeguard values against shame.

The session lasted 3 continuous hours at the end of which the following statement was issued: The counselors, judges and public prosecution men in Alexandria and Damanhur meeting in the form of a special general assembly at their club, while observing the ongoing dialogue concerning the draft law to safeguard values against shame and while responding to his excellency the president's call to discuss this matter in their club, have studied what has been published in this regard and have concluded:

First, it is time to define the concept of the supremacy of the law in its capacity as a servant of freedom and not as a sword hanging over its head and as a concept whose primary goal is to immunize the citizens against the possibilities of their being oppressed by strengthening the guarantees of freedom and justice.

Second, safeguarding values is the goal of all the existing legislations. If there is a failing in these legislations, then dealing with this failing comes through amending them in accordance with the sound legal rules.

Third, Egypt's judges, while sharing with the Egyptian people their aspirations for justice and freedom, reject a return to the method of political isolation and arrest, the imposition of custodianship on unions, clubs, associations and other elections [sic] or the denial of any citizen's right to work.

Fourth, the citizens' clinging to their constitutional right to be tried by their ordinary judge alone is a testimony that the judges have never



failed to safeguard this nation's values and that what is more befitting is to amend the judiciary authority law so as to strengthen its independence and so as not to impose on the judges non-judiciary people in order that the judiciary may continue to be a real guarantee for the observation of the law and an impartial watchdog seeking to deter deviation, to establish the law and to safeguard values.

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CSO: 4802

## BRIEFS

GROUPING PARTY REJECTS LAW OF SHAME--The Progressive National Grouping Party has issued a statement rejecting the draft law to safeguard values against acts of shame. The party also issued another statement demanding that economic sanctions against Israel not be lifted until complete Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories is achieved, and until the Palestinian people regain their legitimate rights. [Text] [Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 12 Feb 80 p 4] 8494

LABOR FEDERATION TO EXPRESS VIEW ON LAW OF SHAME THIS WEEK--The Egyptian General Federation of Workers Unions has asked the People's Assembly to supply it with the draft law of shame and with the special laws governing implementation of the latest referendum so that it may discuss them and express its opinion on them in a plenary session to be held at the end of the week and to be attended by the deputy speaker of the People's Assembly and by chairmen of the workers unions. The federation held 2 days ago (Saturday) a session under the chairmanship of Sa'd Muhammad Ahmad to define the labor movement's viewpoint on the nine principles included in the referendum in response to the request of Dr Sufi Abu-Talib, the People's Assembly speaker, stressing the need to acquaint the Assembly with the labor federation's view on this referendum. [Text] [Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 12 Feb 80 p 5] 8494

CAIRO LAW COLLEGE FACULTY REJECTS LAW OF SHAME--The members of the teaching faculty of the Cairo University Law College have held an emergency meeting to discuss the draft law of shame. The meeting was attended by Ahmad Musa, the socialist public prosecutor, in his capacity as a member of the college council. The conferees agreed unanimously to reject the bill in part and parcel and stressed the need to withdraw it finally because of its momentous encroachment on the constitution, on the judiciary authority and on the citizen's right to be tried before his normal and impartial judge. The conferees decided to consider the teaching faculty in constant session in order that the necessary decisions may be taken. It was also decided to form a committee of six faculty members to demonstrate the iniquity of the bill and the extent of its encroachment on freedom, the constitution and all the legal principles. [Text] [Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 12 Feb 80 p 5] 8494

EDITORIAL SAYS MUSLIM RULERS DESERVE ISRAEL'S HAUGHTINESS, INTRANSIGENCE

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Mar 80 pp 4-6

[Editorial by 'Umar al-Talmasani: "Either Israel Desists or It Ends; America and Arab Rulers Behind Israel's Intransigence"]

[Text] Arab Rulers Oppose Palestinian State

The Muslim peoples have struggled and continue to struggle until today for the sake of Palestine whereas the Muslim rulers have only struggled to preserve their seats of power and their rule, even if Palestine, God forbid, is lost forever. What is truly sad is that the Muslim rulers not only fail to support those struggling for Palestine but that some of them are working feverishly to obstruct the rise of a Palestinian government on Palestine's soil. These words are not something that I have come up with nor are they meant to incriminate these Muslim rulers. They are from reports published by the press 6 months ago and the governments concerned have not tried to deny the scandal of the accusations made against them publicly. AKHBAR AL-YAWM of Saturday, 11 August 1979, cited a wire service report from Washington saying that a number of Arab heads of state informed President Carter of their opposition to the creation of a Palestinian state. Yes, the heads of Arab states and not the heads of the State of Israel! So should we be surprised or astonished when Israel takes this spoilt position toward the Palestinian issue, considering that the heads of some Muslim governments have enabled it to do so? On 14 August 1979, the same paper reports that the PLO believes that one of the means of solving the Palestinian issue lies in negotiating with the United States, perhaps it may achieve its right through this rugged path. But Syria's rulers hasten to immediately warn the PLO against even embarking on a dialogue with the United States regarding this issue. Syria's rulers stand as an insurmountable obstacle obstructing any attempt to settle this issue for no reason other than the fact that a solution will deny them the billions they get from making a business out of these poor people, their future and their freedom. So why shouldn't Israel persist in its pampered and arrogant ways and why shouldn't it flout the Muslims as long as their rulers are so devious?

## Israel's Haughtiness

Matters have reached the point where Israel protests officially to a mere meeting between Young, U.S. delegate to the United Nations, and the PLO delegate and the United States submits shamelessly to this protest and dismisses its delegate from his position! Not a single Muslim has batted an eyelash to protest this suspect behavior. So, are you still surprised that Israel adopts this haughty position toward an issue that concerns the Muslims in all parts of the world? Do not be surprised, brother, because the matter is a lot more horrible. Israel even opposes UN resolution 242 of 1967--which has done Palestine and Egypt an utter injustice and which has been accepted by the overwhelming majority of the Muslim rulers--with the impudence and confidence of a pampered child, defying the entire world with this arrogant opposition.

We do not counter this amazing behavior with similar behavior but ask the intermediaries of good or evil, we don't know which, to intervene between us and Israel so that it may be kind enough and abandon some of its arrogance! AKHBAR AL-YWAM has surprised us with the report that the prime minister has stated that the United States must convince Israel that Palestinian self-rule is in Israel's interest! Why doesn't the triumphant Egypt force Israel to accept what Egypt believes? What is worse, the request for mediation is [not] predicated on [the belief] that this solution agrees with the Palestinian people's right but that it is in Israel's interest and not the interest of the wronged Palestinian people. Israel, act as pampered as you wish because all are concerned with your interest. Israel, strut and sway because all are your lovers. Strauss, the former U.S. envoy to the self-rule negotiations, then meets with Begin and announces after the meeting that he failed to persuade Egypt and Israel to agree to the issuance of a new resolution regarding the Palestinians. Had Strauss sought to be truthful, he would have said that he only failed to persuade Begin.

Thus, Israel acts arrogantly even toward its master, the United States, rejecting its mediation and imploration and the United States accepts this attitude with neither censure nor protest...So why shouldn't Israel act spoilt and why shouldn't it strut?

## What Does Carter Want From Palestinians?

Carter has asserted that the Palestinians have done nothing so far and that they insist on getting everything or nothing at all (the papers of 25 Aug st 1979). What does Israel say in the wake of this surprising defense on its behalf? What does Carter want the Palestinians to offer? Does he want them to relinquish their right to their land? Does he want them to abandon their right to repatriation? Does he want them to give up their right to enjoy the free and honorable life enjoyed by every people on the surface of this earth? Does he want them to recognize Israel that has torn them apart, displaced them and usurped their land? Does he want them to desert their right to the holy struggle to liberate their land?

What is it that Carter wants the Palestinians to relinquish and in return for what is this relinquishment to be made? By God, why should Israel desist and why shouldn't it bear down on the Muslim rulers when the president of the most strongly armed nation in the world defends it so warmly?

Our prime minister, Dr Mustafa Khalil, gets annoyed with Israel's behavior and declares--despite our opposition to Camp David and the peace treaty--that permitting the Israelis to purchase land in Gaza and the West Bank constitutes a flagrant violation of the Camp David accords. The United States has also condemned the sale [sic] of Arab lands in the West Bank and Gaza to the Israelis. The Arabs living in both areas have also objected to this arbitrary action. Do you know what Israel has done after these heated protests and these flagrant violations of the Camp David accords that were accepted by the cabinet of Dr Mustafa Khalil? Listen, this is what has happened: 1. Israel's government has not done a thing. 2. A case was brought before the Israeli judiciary and the judge ruled that the Israelis have no right to act in this manner that violates the international agreement [sic]. 3. The Israelis have refused to implement the ruling. 4. The Israeli government has offered them another piece of land in the Bank. 5. Some Israeli families still refuse to leave the settlement. Despite this shameful disregard for every human right, international law and principled convention, the friendship between the United States and Israel is as pure and strong as ever and Egypt is still cooperating with Israel. So why shouldn't Israel take this haughty attitude toward the entire world? Act haughtily, pampered Israel, because the stage is all yours now. Do whatever you please, Israel, because this situation will not last for you. The consequence of tyranny is grave "and the oppressors shall see how the tables will turn on them." The United States should not be offended by our position toward it when it takes this stance toward us and toward Israel, despite Egypt's position. We are not the only ones offended by this position on the part of Israel and of its allies. To be truthful, we must say that we are offended by the position taken by Israel's allies because Israel is too insignificant to take such a position toward the Comoro Islands, let alone Egypt, were it not for its absolute confidence that its allies will not disavow it, not to say support everything it does. Senghor, the President of Senegal, has felt with us and stated that he does not trust Israel. Moreover, the U.S. black leaders condemn Israel's policy in Lebanon and insist on playing a bigger role in the U.S. policy. This is how far Israel's arrogance has gone, and yet there is nobody to take heed or to respond. Jesse Jackson, a U.S. black leader, has said that Israel must understand that the U.S. national interests have the priority. Yet, Israel continues to fail to understand or pay heed to the interests of the United States that feeds it, clothes and keeps poverty away from its door. After all this, don't you think that Israel persists in its spoilt behavior to a detestable degree? Meanwhile, we are content with a report published by Al-AHRAM on 27 September 1979 saying that the Egyptian delegation to the self-rule negotiations refuted Israel's arguments to justify the sale [sic] of lands in the West Bank and Gaza! Wonderful, the Egyptian delegation has brought the lion with its knowledge! Does Israel



have an argument that we may waste our time and efforts refuting it? Isn't it time for us to take a firm stance toward these challenges that offend dignity? After this, I did not think that the Egyptian delegation would continue to implement the treaty unilaterally and would declare the normalization of relations and the exchange of ambassadors despite the grave danger entailed in these steps--a danger about which we have already talked. We do not deny that we have regained a part of our land, but the price has been exorbitant. Had Israel not thought that this would serve it, it would not have withdrawn from a single inch of land because it believes in the strength of the United States that established an air bridge to supply Israel with military hardware during the October 1973 war.

### Betrayal by PLO

The states that have opposed the treaty have taken an even worse stance toward the Palestinian issue. These states defend the Israeli presence as a state on the Palestinian soil.

Here is King Husayn of Jordan calling for the convocation of an urgent summit to develop a position vis-a-vis Israel's right to existence. King Husayn has said that insofar as the Palestinians are concerned, the issue is not one of destroying the state of Israel but of recognizing the rights of others and of guaranteeing the right of all parties concerned to live peacefully in the area. In an interview attributed to a U.S. official, AL-BATH, organ of the Ba'th Party ruling in Damascus, reveals that Saudi Arabia and Jordan oppose the establishment of a Palestinian homeland. Nobody has denied this report so far. So sleep soundly, Israel, because the states that have opposed Egypt's treaty with you are the same states that oppose the creation of a Palestinian homeland. Even though we have denounced the treaty with Israel, we denounce and oppose the position of these states more strongly. It is extremely astonishing that a Muslim state that grants the PLO millions of pounds is, at the same time, a state that does not want this organization to create its homeland. We wonder, is the organization aware of this position or has it condoned it to get the millions that pour on its leaders!! God help you, Palestine, and woe unto you, Israel--you pampered Israel with the black eyes and the slim waste.

The biggest tragedy that could not have occurred to any mind is to find AL-AHRAM publish a report saying that the PLO has issued a decision to cease firing from southern Lebanon. Thus, the PLO volunteers willingly to cease the fire for the sake of safety. So who is left to defend Palestine when its leaders decide to cease the fire? What a shame and what a big treason! For the sake of honor, manliness and religion, it is better for all the organization members to perish than to commit this horrible disgrace. Do you know how the pampered and arrogant Israel has responded--and it is its right, and even its duty, to respond the way it has to this servility. It is blameless in responding the way it did. Israel's response was decisive and courageous. It declared that it will not abide by this

decision and will strike the fedayeen. Do you see how Israel persists in its transgression, disregarding all values and violating every right and dignity? Don't you believe with me and with every just man that this Israeli response to the Palestinian decision makes as clear as the sun Israel's intentions to destroy whoever does not approve its intransigence and whoever wants to prevent it from usurping the Palestinians' legitimate right to their country and homeland. Israel's insistence on what it is doing will not change under the canopy of agreements and treaties, even if these treaties are totally unfair to the Palestinians' rights. If Israel is deceived by the strength of its allies, then the legitimate war to restore the usurped right is indubitably coming.

### Israel and Self-Rule

There can be no peace without the restoration of rights. Israel has tasked and continues to task the nerves of those negotiating with it over every single point in the treaty to the extent that these negotiators are cited as an example of self-restraint. We demanded the right to self-determination and Israel clinged to self-rule. A little later, we agreed. When we did so, Israel started to wrangle over the details of self-rule and insisted that the self-rule it agreed to is restricted to the inhabitants and not the land. Israel is even clipping the wings of this self-rule in one session after another and wants to turn it into an imaginary rule. It refuses to acknowledge any power of sovereignty to those involved in this self-rule which is only for the inhabitants and not for the usurped land. Moreover, it insists that its military rule of the West Bank and Gaza is the sole source from which the self-rule derives all its powers. The biggest disaster is that Israel wants this self-rule for the West Bank and Gaza to be a final form and not an interim form, as understood from the Camp David accords and the [peace] treaty which stipulate that the self-rule period is the means to attain the full independence enjoyed by every independent state on the surface of this earth.

If we add to this Egyptian Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil's statement that there are vast differences with Israel over the realization of self-rule and if we analyze Israel's viewpoint of the issue of security which it involves in everything, we are confident that Israel will not attain the peace understood by the entire world with this concept of hers. It is better for us to leave Israel for its pampered ways and its arrogance and to concentrate on these Muslim [Palestinian] people. We should not be content with providing them with the means of prosperity and comfort but should begin training them as of now on the patience of men, the endurance of heroes and the burdens of struggle so that when the day comes in which Israel defies all values, principles, laws and traditions and all the elements of honor and dignity it will find before it people who will bring it back to its senses, who will stop it where it should be stopped, who will show it its real weight and who will give it a lesson it will never forget.

What a surprising logic!!

Israel is still claiming without any embarrassment that the West Bank and Gaza are Israeli and not Arab territories. This is not its fault. A giddy lover accepts whatever a playful belle demands of him, even if it is unreasonable. Congratulations, Israel, for this pampering at present. As for tomorrow, only God knows what will happen. This world lasts for nobody and God makes the days take their turn among people. One day is for you and another is against you. How miserable and wretched is the unjust when the days turn against him.

#### Only Muslim Peoples Will Liberate Palestine

Some Muslim rulers have not been content with failing to support Palestine and with opposing the creation of a Palestinian state but have done what is worse and more serious. Kissinger's memoirs say that King Husayn of Jordan asked for U.S. and Israeli aid in September 1970 and that this step helped him to launch a large-scale offensive against the Palestinians. If the Muslim rulers reach the point of seeking Israel's aid against the Palestinians, can they be the ones hoped to save Palestine? What should Israel be afraid of after all this and why shouldn't it act meanly? Why shouldn't it act haughtily and contemptibly toward what some Muslim rulers do against the Muslims? Aren't the Palestinians Muslims? I can assert confidently that Israel will respect no agreement or treaty with Egypt or with others as long as this is the situation of the Muslims. Only the Muslim peoples will save the Muslim Palestine. When the Afghans regain control of their affairs and when God's book and Sunna rule Lebanon and the countries neighboring Palestine, Israel will be compelled and forced to give the rights to their owners. On that day, the happy ending of realizing justice will be very easy to achieve.

Let Israel persist in its arrogance and intransigence. Regardless of how long the years, the grey clouds darkening the skies of Islamic unity will disappear shortly and the sun of harmony will shine under the canopy of the faith. Israel will then know whether it is riding a horse or a donkey "and the faithful will then rejoice with a victory from God Who gives victory to whomever He wishes, and He is mighty and compassionate. God has promised and God does not break His promise, even though most people do not know. People know the superficialities of this life but are ignorant of the hereafter."

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## AL-TALMASANI WANTS UNITED MUSLIM JERUSALEM

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Mar 80 pp 27-29

[Editorial by 'Umar al-Talmasani: "Jerusalem, Always and Forever"]

[Text] Jerusalem is the final station in the prophet's, May God's peace and prayers be upon him, nocturnal journey from Mecca, the starting point of his ascension to the high heavens, the place in which the prophet alighted after the sublime meeting, the first direction to which the Muslims turned in their prayers, the third holiest place after Mecca and Medina and the place in which the prophet, may God's peace and prayers be upon him, met with the prophets and the messengers of God after receiving his revelation. Are we ready to reach the tragic conclusion and to accept what is being said and is being planned to prepare the minds and the wills to abandon the city of light [Jerusalem] as the cradle of Jewish hopes and of Jewish religious aspirations?

If an organ of the body is ailing, man suffers and ails until this organ is fully cured. This is the situation of the entire Muslim world as long as sovereignty over Jerusalem is wrenched from the hands of the Muslims. Before I embark on the topic of this article, I would like to report a fact in which every just man believes. We have opposed the initiative, Camp David and the peace treaty frankly and openly. But along with this opposition, we are pleased and happy with the return of any inch of land usurped from us as long as this partial restoration does not cause the loss of the full right which we will continue to demand until it is restored fully and completely, regardless of the means of restoration and of whether it is peaceful or military.

We are not the only ones who say this. Even our officials say that Jerusalem is Arab and must continue to be so. Butrus Ghali, the Egyptian deputy minister of foreign affairs, stated this in the speech he delivered to the UN General Assembly, saying: "Insofar as the issue of Jerusalem, the city with its special and holy place in the three divine religions, is concerned, I believe that I must underline very clearly Egypt's position which is summed up in that the Arab Jerusalem is an indivisible part of the West Bank, that the Arab Jerusalem must be under Arab sovereignty and that Egypt demands implementation of the UN resolutions concerning Jerusalem."



## One Jerusalem

Mustafa Khalil, Egypt's minister of foreign affairs and prime minister, declared in the Haifa talks Egypt's clear position that the Arab Jerusalem is an indivisible part of the West Bank. There is no doubt that we are pleased with these two statements, with a reservation that we must make clear and obvious. Why are the two officials eager to add the word "Arab" in describing Jerusalem? Describing Jerusalem as Arab is a restriction on an absolute concept embodied in the word Jerusalem. This description arouses fears, especially since we have read frequently that there is a plan to give a part of Jerusalem to the Jews and another part to the Muslims, even though all of Jerusalem is Muslim Arab and must be returned to its original owners, namely the Palestinians, undivided. Is there an Arab Jerusalem and a non-Arab Jerusalem? Throughout our long history, we have only known the word Jerusalem. This description emerged only after the circulation of reports that a part of Jerusalem will continue to be in Israel's hands and another part will be given to the Palestinians. If these rumors are true, then we disapprove both statements [by Ghali and Khalil] in part and parcel because we object to the partition of Jerusalem in the first place. Even if our objection to the opposition concerns nobody, UN resolution 242 of November 1979 states that the conditions must be restored to what they were before the June 1967 war. There is no doubt that the lands usurped by Israel as a result of that abominable defeat include all of Jerusalem. There wasn't an Arab Jerusalem and a non-Arab Jerusalem at the time.

## Israel's Ambitions

Even though we do not want to anticipate events prematurely, what is happening confirms that Israel will accept no alternative to the map hung on the Knesset walls to this day. We are not saying this as a conclusion or an interpretation. It is the reality which is confirmed day after day by the Israeli reports and events. So as not to rely on my opinion solely in what I say about Israel's prevarications, contradictions and defiance of the entire world, I will cite Musa Sabri, AL-AKHBAR chief editor, in this regard. On Sunday, 19 August 1979, Musa Sabri said the following verbatim: "Israel's advocates are experienced in this kind of maneuvers. They know how to make a mountain out of a mole hill and how to throw dust in the eyes over a subsidiary issue that makes no iota of difference in order to efface the essence and to obstruct the fundamental steps." According to this description, stated by a writer who has supported the treaty, the Israelis efface the essence and obstruct the fundamental steps. We wonder, what can we get from a people with this characteristic?

In another reference to the same issue, the same journalist says verbatim: When you take part in a dialogue with an Israeli politician, you hear a refined logic and an opinion that abides by the etiquette of dialogue and you get the firm impression that this politician is a reasonable man. You are then surprised by public statements by this same politician that



go beyond all the bounds of the unreasonable. One of the Israeli methods repeatedly used is to prohibit the Israeli delegation from expressing any opinion when it finds that the Egyptian negotiator has reached a clear point beyond any ambiguity. The most outstanding example in this regard are the talks held by Mustafa Khalil and Moshe Dayan at Camp David during which Dayan reached the point where he said that he was not authorized to express an opinion. When Begin was asked to go to Camp David, he refused.

#### Why Did We Grant Them Biggest Wish

Aren't we justified in all that we have said about these people, namely that they will not abandon one jot of their plans or one inch of their aspirations? So why are we taking all this trouble with them? And why have we granted them their biggest wish and the one wish they had aspired for, namely recognizing them officially? All the arguments that have been cited to justify what has happened may be acceptable to some people, but we are not among them. However, the usurped rights will not be regained through forgiveness, tolerance and relinquishment. They are regained through preparation and readiness, austerity, suffering and sacrificing everything. Let millions die so that honor and manliness may be preserved, so that the full right may be safeguarded and defended and so that all kinds of sacrifice and offering may be made to regain the usurped right and the wounded honor. France lost the Alsace and (Lorient) in the 1870 war but French mothers used to tie wooden swords around the waists of their children. When you asked a French child why he was carrying the wooden sword, the answer was: To regain the Alsace and the (Lorient). The restoration did actually take place in the 1914-18 war and the Alsace and (Lorient) usurped from France were again returned to the motherland with dignity and honor. After nearly 50 years of preparation, sacrifice and determination to liberate them, the Alsace and Lorient were regained to France.

What we are seeing from these Jews is not reassuring but rather perpetuates the fears and the expectation of treachery at any moment in which they can perpetrate it. We are not unaware of their breach of covenants. Do we need any proofs when every day brings us something new from them? The rate of Jewish immigration to Israel in June 1979 exceeded by 41 percent the same rate in June 1978. Moreover, here is a statement by the President of the United States published by AL-AKHBAR on Sunday, 12 August 1979, in which he declares his opposition to the creation of a Palestinian state unless the PLO recognizes the right of the Israeli entity in the area. What guarantees has Carter offered the Palestinians as the price of this recognition, which we hope will not occur? The result of this statement would be recognition by the Palestinians of Israel's right to usurp their lands. Recognition of Israel will thus come from one side after another in return for nothing other than Israeli maneuvers and evasiveness and so the Jews will gain day after day something to which they are not entitled whereas the Muslims will lose their legitimate rights. Israel is not content with what it has gained by force and is thinking of amending the

two Camp David accords which are based on the actually existing resolution 242. It is likely that it has already made strides on this path that have motivated an Egyptian official source to state that Israel has no right to demand amendment of the two Camp David accords. This is how arrogant Israel has become and this is how patient the Egyptian negotiators have been in putting up with Israel's detestable flirtation.

#### Zionist State Is Center of Criminals

Israel's situation itself does not call for all this tolerance on our part. Inflation in Israel is almost 100 percent and Israel has become the safe refuge for whoever wants to hire himself out for murder and corruption. As stated by Sulayman Qinawi in AKHBAR AL-YAWM, Israel has become a safe den for embezzling business men and criminals sentenced to long prison terms. Such people include (Meyer Lanski), a member of the U.S. Mafia who took refuge in Israel recently. Moreover, Lord (Cahan), a personal friend of former British Prime Minister Harold Wilson, also took refuge in Israel at the end of last year after making profits of 6 million pounds sterling from illegal operations. These incidents coincided with the suicide of Israeli minister (Abraham Hofer) after his dirty games had been exposed. The former chairman of the Israeli Maritime Company was also jailed after committing international acts of embezzlement. This is Israel's situation and this is what is known about it, so how can we not fear it and how can we respond to its demands, keeping in mind that it will not be pleased unless it gets all it wants? We wish that after it realizes its aspirations, God forbid, it would leave us alone to run and reform our affairs. Never, it will continue to strive until it can see on the face of the earth no single Muslim to say "there is only one God," because it is our most ferocious enemy in this world. This is underlined by the Omniscient in His great book: "You will find that those who are most hostile to the faithful are the Jews and the infidels." This has been acknowledged by most eastern and western writers who have spoken about the Jews, their deception, their trickery and their justification of any means whatsoever to realize their hopes and aspirations that are in conflict with Egypt and of both its Muslim and Christian people. Israel hates Muslims and Christians all over the world but its phased plans are focused on the Muslims in particular. When it is through with the Muslims, and God will not enable it to do so, it will turn to strike the Christians--Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, Puritans and others--by igniting wars among them so that God's chosen people may become the sovereign of the world. This will never happen, thanks be to God, regardless of their deception, trickery and malevolence.

#### Israel Does not Want Peace

We are not saying this offhandedly. The successive reports confirm that Israel wants no peace, reconciliation or harmony. It wants none of this. It wants only the solution that realizes for it all its goals fully and completely.

It is acting intransigently even toward the United States under whose protection this Israel lives. So what will its position toward us be when we supply it with nothing? Even now, Israel denies with utter clarity and daring that the Palestinians have any right to anything, even to live like any other creatures on the surface of the earth.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR has said that on signing the peace treaty, Begin undertook to begin within one month negotiations aimed at establishing the Palestinian self-rule and that he also undertook to complete the negotiations within 1 year so that elections may be held in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. The paper has pointed out that Washington insists on the fulfillment of these commitments. So, the Israelis are evasive even in fulfilling what they committed themselves to when they signed the treaty. The United States would not have had to insist had it found a willing response on Israel's part. Were we wrong when we said that Jerusalem is lost as long as it is under the Israeli military and civilian control? Why should we think well of these people when this is their condition, rather their nature with which they were weaned?

#### Israel Directs U.S. Policy

Moreover, how can we hope that the United States will help us to regain our full rights to Jerusalem and to other places when we find that William Jid'awn (Gideon), a prominent U.S. citizen of Palestinian extraction, states that Andrew Young's resignation has served the Palestinian people's cause and has opened the eyes of the American people to the fact that Israel directs the U.S. policy? Here is an American witness who testifies that the United States does only what Israel wants. So how can we hope for good from Israel or from those whose policy is directed by Israel? Israel is not content with defying the entire world with words but couples words with actions, even in situations not connected with politics. A science conference was held in Vienna in August 1979 and Israel boycotted it openly because Austrian Chancellor Kreisky had made initiatives and taken positions toward the Middle East that do not please Israel.

What is surprising is that the U.S. press itself criticizes the U.S. administration's position toward the Palestinian issue and then we decide that the United States supports us and is on our side. AL-AKHBAR has reported that the NEW YORK TIMES has called on the U.S. administration to define its position toward the Palestinian issue clearly, especially when the UN Security Council discusses the issue. AL-AKHBAR has also reported that there has been no shift in the U.S. Middle East policy in favor of the PLO, as Israel constantly claims. Are we more American than the Americans insofar as the Carter administration's position of pampering and strengthening Israel is concerned?

What is done is done, even though we do not approve or condone it. But letting matters proceed in this way and continuing the negotiations with Israel when it lives under the conditions that we have pointed out at the

outset of this article, is something that the public interest does not condone and that the Egyptian soldier who has sacrificed and continues to sacrifice to liberate all the Muslim land usurped by treachery, betrayal and plotting does not condone. We must take toward Israel a stance that smashes its arrogance and that warns it seriously that Egypt is fully prepared to sacrifice the last male and female child rather than accept this defiance, this arrogance and this haughtiness displayed by Israel just because it thinks that we will, for the sake of peace, turn a blind eye to the insults that can be accepted by someone who thinks that he cannot answer the challenge with a similar challenge. We are stronger than the entire world, if we strengthen our bonds to God. We, except those among us who think that they are incapable of answering the challenge, should fear nothing because God's victory will come to us quickly and God will give us weapons and triumph with His strength "and if you support God, He shall give you victory and strengthen you."

### Israel Violates Treaty

Not a single day has passed since the treaty in which Israel has not committed acts that constitute a total violation of all that has been agreed upon in the treaty that we have opposed. Moreover, not a single day passes without statements being made by the government to protest the Jewish acts that persist uninterrupted. Meanwhile, we see that our government's protests have no effect whatsoever on Israel. Prime Minister Mustafa Khalil has declared, according to AL-AKHBAR, that permitting the Israelis to purchase lands in Gaza and the Bank constitutes a flagrant violation of the Camp David accords. The same newspaper has said that the United States has condemned the sale of Arab lands to the Israelis. The Arabs living in the Bank and Gaza have protested this step. Israel has not been content with continuing its purchase of land but has defied all these and has totally disregarded their verbal protests and the Israeli government has issued a decree expropriating 300 feddans in the Bank for the construction of Israeli settlements. Thus, Israel acts while Egypt and those who pretend to support it do nothing but talk.

The reader should not think that my objection to the phrase "Arab Jerusalem" is a induction from the events. Rather, Prime Minister Dr Mustafa Khalil has stated that the decree concerning lands casts shadows of doubt on Israel's intentions. There is nothing to prevent the presence of the Arab Jerusalem and Jerusalem. Have I been unfair or have I expected something unrealistic? Before this editorial, Musa Sabri said that Israel's timing of permitting the purchase of lands in the Bank and Gaza is an act of political abrasion. In my opinion, this decision is a continuation of the Israeli method which always comes up with surprises by creating side problems. We tell Mr Sabri that the decision is not an act of political abrasion and is not meant to create side problems. These are premeditated acts with decisive indications and are fundamental and fateful measures--and not side problems--that confirm beyond doubt to every man with reason and understanding that Israel will not desist from implementing its plans



that seek to destroy all the Muslims in the entire area with the full, evident and flagrant support of all the forces of evil that help it to achieve this goal which, God be thanked, they will not realize. "They act with cunning and God acts with cunning, and God is the best at cunning."  
[Loose translation of Koran phrase]

Isn't it time for us to deal on the basis of the reality and to look where we are stepping so that God may be pleased with us, may support us in our right and may destroy the falsehood of the Jews and of those among our enemies and friends who support them.

We are advising and showing the way and no blame can fall on us after today because God's victory descends only upon the steadfast and patient strugglers. Israel and those behind it will not succeed because "God is behind them like an ocean" and because "it is a glorious Koran in a preserved tablet."

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LAW OF SHAME DESCRIBED AS STRANGE, OPPRESSIVE

Cairo AL-DA'WAH in Arabic Mar 80 p 59

[Article by 'Ayn. 'Ayn al-Muhami: "Serious Flaws in Bill of Shame"]

[Text] The regime that calls for the supremacy of the law should not turn the law into a weapon that erases its own supremacy. This regime is currently preparing the so-called "law of shame" prior to its promulgation by the People's Assembly.

If we want to review the legal and constitutional flaws afflicting this strange law, the pages of this magazine would not have space enough. However, we will be content with underlining as much as space allows the most outstanding of these flaws:

1. The bill confuses the manifestations of behavior which are usually subject to penalization and punishment with moral values that are usually left to the citizen's conscience without any intervention by the legislator. The bill contains several provisions on abstract moral values and cites ambiguous and indefinite acts and considers those who commit them in violation of these values and, consequently, perpetrators of a crime for which the punishment is extremely stiff and strange.

The strangeness does not stop at the point of what is meant by incriminating acts but extends to include the investigation measures pertaining to these acts. The bill entrusts the power of investigation to the socialist prosecutor. Even though the bill describes this kind of investigation as "political investigation"--and this is a novelty of which we have never heard before--it gives this political investigator the power to arrest and conduct searches. These are powers that belong to the judiciary investigation of criminal cases.

The concept of the socialist prosecutor is an alien concept to our country and one that has nothing like it in any other country. Past experiences have proven that this prosecutor has always been on the side of the government and of the ruling party, implementing their goals at the expense of legitimacy and the law. This is natural because the prosecutor does not

belong to the judiciary circles and is not included within the framework of the judiciary authority. He fills a position with the rank of minister or of deputy prime minister and has no judiciary quality and no immunity. Therefore, the prosecutor's loyalty belongs to the party which has put him in this position.

Only the public prosecution, which is a branch of the judiciary authority, has the power to conduct criminal investigations and to exercise the power of bringing charges before the courts. Therefore, it is unacceptable that this law should strip the public prosecution off its powers over the most serious crimes, namely political crimes and crimes of opinion and thought, and entrust these powers to the socialist prosecutor agency which must be neutral, impartial and independent.

3 [sic]. The court that will try these crimes is in its turn a strange court in the world of law and justice. It is not comprised of the ordinary judges referred to in article 68 of the constitution which guarantees every citizen's right to resort to his ordinary judge. The bill calls for forming this court of four members of the People's Assembly and three counselors of the Appellate Court. This means that the majority will belong to the political and partisan element which lacks the qualities of the ordinary judge, namely: Neutrality, impartiality, immunity and independence. Consequently, the ruling on the disputes of a political nature is known in advance.

Matters get even more surprising when we learn that the harsh sentences issued by this unique court are final sentences that cannot be appealed in any way.

#### Extremely Harsh Sentences

Last, but not least, the penalties which this unique court has the power to impose are "harsh," unheard of and stipulated in no constitution or law, not even in the darkest ages of occupation and oppression.

These penalties or measures, as the bill kindly calls them, include the penalty of denial of political or unionist rights--i.e. political isolation--and denial of the right to work in the free professions and dismissal from jobs, i.e. confiscation of the source of living and of sustenance, with all the family displacement and loss of children that it entails. The penalties also include banning departure from the country, restricting the place of residence, banning presence in certain places and placing property under custodianship. These extremely harsh penalties are alien to our society, thought and law and are not mentioned in the first chapter of the penal code which lists the basic and subsidiary penalties, none of which include these strange and novel penalties that are closer to vengeful measures than to penal measures.

To put it briefly, this serious law threatens the security of all the honorable citizens and the social security of this country, enables the

ruling party to pounce on and persecute its opponents, and even whoever holds an opinion or an idea that does not please this party, and turns the sons of this deep-rooted people into mere machines that have no right to raise their voice in protest or in expression of their opinions.

We hold the state of science and faith above allowing such a law to be promulgated under its reign. Should it be promulgated, it will leave an imprint with which those branded will not be happy. If the current regime is looking at the people today, then God will be looking at this regime tomorrow. This regime has two options now: Either follow the course of the enraged oppressors who disdain the people or take the course that says whoever does an atom of good shall see its rewards and whoever does an atom of evil shall face its consequences. It is better for the shepherd and the flock when the shepherd deals with the flock kindly and gently than when he deals with it severely and violently "and God says the truth and shows the right path."

The report published by AL-SHA'B on Tuesday, 5 February 1980, that the Executive Council of the Judges Club declared that the law of shame constitutes a flagrant violation of the independence of the judiciary and demanded that the bill be repealed out of respect for the constitution--this report constitutes enough shame for this law.

There is nothing to be said after the statement of the experts who are above suspicion. Moreover, we oppose this law not out of our fear because we only fear God, and what He has ordained shall truly come about. We oppose the law because we don't want laws that could harm those who issue them to be promulgated and because we implore God for good and guidance for all people "and speak well to the people."

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SELECTIVE LIST OF JPRS SERIAL REPORTS

NEAR EAST AND AFRICA SERIAL REPORTS

NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT  
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA REPORT

WORLDWIDE SERIAL REPORTS

WORLDWIDE REPORT: Environmental Quality  
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Epidemiology  
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Law of the Sea  
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Nuclear Development and Proliferation  
WORLDWIDE REPORT: Telecommunications Policy, Research and Development



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